

DAILY REPORT

CONTENTS

China

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PRC INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

UNITED STATES

- RENMIN RIBAO on Reagan's Latin America Trip B 1
[Yuan Xianlu, 7 Dec]
U.S. Admits Understating Arms Sales to Taiwan B 2
[RENMIN RIBAO 4 Dec]

SOVIET UNION

- Qian Qichen Views Future of Talks With USSR C 1
[Vienna DIE PRESSE 7-8, Dec]
'Little Steps Must Be Taken' C 1
[Vienna KURIER 7 Dec]
Talks To Resume Next Year [AFP] C 2

NORTHEAST ASIA

- Zhao Ziyang Meets Japanese Trade Delegation D 1
Bo Yibo Visits Japanese Industrial Exhibit D 1
Japan's Nakasone on Foreign, Domestic Policy D 2
Meets Shanghai Group D 2
Japan, U.S. Begin Military Joint Exercise D 3
Japanese Media on Zhao Sixth 5-Year Plan Report D 3
Shanghai, Osaka Sign Exchanges Agreement D 4
NODONG SINMUN on Korean Reunification Principle D 4

WESTERN EUROPE

- Peng Chong Meets Austrian Journalists 6 Dec G 1
Danish Bill Would Suspend NATO Appropriations G 1
French President Meets Outgoing PRC Envoy G 1

MIDDLE EAST & AFRICA

- Visit by Husayn-Led Arab League Committee I 1
Peace Plan Discussed With Zhao I 1
Hu Backs Arab Struggle I 2
Zhao Hosts Banquet for Group I 3
Significance Noted I 5
Commentator on Arab Issues [RENMIN RIBAO 7 Dec] I 6
Israeli West Bank Settlement Acts Rapped I 7
RENMIN RIBAO Commentary [4 Dec] I 7
West Bank Ex-Mayors' Views I 7

PRC NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Text of New PRC Constitution Published	K 1
Constitution Promulgated	K 29
Further Coverage of Fifth Session of Fifth NPC	K 29
Television Coverage	K 29
Leaders at 30 Nov Meeting	K 30
Leaders at 1 Dec Meeting	K 30
Leaders at 6 Dec Presidium	K 31
Leaders at 6 Dec Meeting	K 31
PLA Deputies on Zhao Report	K 31
Text of Peng Zhen Report	K 33
Hebei Deputies on Constitution	K 49
Zhejiang's Tie Ying Comments	K 49
Yunnan's An Pingsheng	K 50
Guangxi's Qiao Xiaoguang	K 50
Shaanxi's Ma Wenrui Comments	F 52
NPC Delegation Returns From Asian Tour 3 Dec	K 52
Nie Rongzhen on CPC's Policy Toward Intellectuals	K 53
Radio Ba Yi Comments on New PRC Defense Minister	K 54
Youth Paper Condemns Killing of Baby Girls	K 55
[ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN BAO 9 Nov]	

PRC REGIONAL AFFAIRS

EAST REGION

Hu Yaobang's 24 Oct-1 Nov Anhui Tour Detailed	O 1
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TAIWAN

Dominican Republic Ministers Continue Visit	V 1
Meet Premier Sun	V 1
Communique Signed	V 1
Trade Agreements With Kingdom of Lesotho Signed	V 1
[CHINA POST 2 Dec]	
Advanced War Information Display Device Noted	V 2
CHINA POST Editorial on Recent PRC Reshuffle	V 2
[25 Nov]	

HONG KONG MEDIA ON CHINA

CHENG MING Reviews PLA Personnel Changes [Dec]	W 1
PRC-UK Talks on Hong Kong's Future Assessed	W 6
[CHENG MING Dec]	

RENMIN RIBAO ON REAGAN'S LATIN AMERICA TRIP

HK071128 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 7 Dec 82 p 6

[Commentary by RENMIN RIBAO reporter Yuan Xianlu [5913 0341 4389]: "Trends in Latin America"]

[Text] After a brief exchange of formalities with President Reagan, Colombia's President Belisario Betancourt quickly dispensed with diplomatic language and sharply said to the distinguished American visitor, "in the past, every U.S. president who came to Colombia always told the people here what they must be thankful for." According to reports, Reagan at that time forced himself to laugh and replied, "I agree with your view. However, this time I have come to listen."

At the welcome dinner President Betancourt as expected frankly expressed his view toward the United States for Reagan to hear. He pointed out that the United States should revise its Latin America policy in line with the reality of this continent. In dealing with its relations with Latin American countries, the United States should respect the authority and needs of these countries. A U.S. reporter wrote during President Betancourt's entire speech, President Reagan lowered his head to study the text of the speech without once lifting his head to look at his host. After the event, the WASHINGTON POST commentary said that this speech made by President Betancourt was "the sharpest speech made by a foreign leader to Reagan."

This scene, which took place in Colombia during Reagan's Latin American visit, is full of meaning. It profoundly shows that in the Latin America formerly regarded by the United States as its "backyard," safeguarding national independence and striving for national equality have become an irresistible historical trend.

The battle for the Malvinas has caused many Latin American countries to feel that they can only submit to the will of the United States but cannot protect their own interests in the so-called "pan-Americanism system." People in Latin American political circles have proposed "replacing pan-Americanism with Latin Americanism" to oppose the infiltration and intervention of this region by the superpowers by means of the solidarity of Latin American countries. For the sake of preventing the further development of this trend, the United States is endeavoring to mend its ties with Latin American countries. The recent U.S. support for the UN motion calling for the discussion of the question of the Malvinas despite British opposition is for the sake of changing its image in Latin America. This time the fact that Reagan has ignored the mountains of problems at home and has taken 5 days off for a visit to Latin America is to try and show the importance attached by the United States to Latin America.

Reagan's tour of Latin America also served the purpose of winning the support of the Latin American countries for the U.S. policy on Central America. For quite some time, a view has risen and gained ground among Latin American countries that all disputes should be resolved through peaceful consultations resulting from their disapproval of the U.S. policy on Central America. This time, when Reagan was visiting Costa Rica and Honduras, the leaders of El Salvador and Guatemala also went to those countries, respectively, to hold talks with Reagan. Obviously, this was an effort made by the United States to strengthen the arrangements of its policy on Central America.

During his 5-day tour, Reagan spend 3 days in Brazil. As a principal Latin American country, Brazil plays an important role in the area.

Brazil, Mexico and Venezuela all hold that disputes should be resolved through peaceful consultations on the Central American issue and there exists a great difference between them and the United States. Influenced by the present economic recession in Western countries, Brazil is facing some economic difficulties and urgently needs international credit to settle the problem of the repayment of its foreign debt. Centering Reagan's tour on Brazil, the United States, therefore, decided to grant a short-term loan to Brazil, relaxed some restrictions on Brazil in foreign trade and also established a joint work group with Brazil to strengthen cooperation between the two countries. U.S. officials have given enormous publicity to the matter, saying the United States and Brazil will establish a "special relationship" through Reagan's visit.

However, President Figueiredo of Brazil, in his speech delivered at the national banquet, particularly stressed that Brazil will adhere to its independent foreign policy. On the Central American issue, he pointed out that the source of the turmoil in the region lies in "universal poverty and social instability," reiterating that settlements can only be sought through "a peaceful process." On the African issue, he expressed his support for the independence of Namibia. The U.S. media hold that this speech showed that Brazil will not change its foreign policy to obtain U.S. economic aid. As for the "special relationship" between the United States and Brazil, an official of Brazil's Foreign Ministry says: "Let us forget the phrase: It is impossible."

Reagan's tour of Latin America has shown that the days when the United States could control the policies of Latin American countries are gone forever. Observers here believe that as the political trend is so evident in Latin America, the future crux will be whether the U.S. policy will follow this trend or go against it.

U.S. ADMITS UNDERSTATING ARMS SALES TO TAIWAN

HK070610 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 4 Dec 82 p 6

[Unattributed report: "The United States Understates Arms Sales to Taiwan by 90 Mortar Carriers"]

[Text] It was reported from Washington that the U.S. Department of Defense announced on 2 December that an omission of 90 mortar carriers had been made in its notification to Congress on arms sales to Taiwan made public 2 days earlier.

The Pentagon said the omission was "due to an oversight." Moreover, in the notification made public earlier, it was not stated that 24 of the 164 armored personnel carriers would be refitted into ambulances. However, the two changes would not affect the total amount of \$97 million of arms sales to Taiwan.

QIAN QICHEN VIEWS FUTURE OF TALKS WITH USSR

AU071229 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 7-8 Dec 82 p 1

[Thomas Chorherr dispatch from Beijing: "China Makes Concessions to Soviet Union in the Dialogue"]

[Text] Beijing -- Chinese-Soviet consultations on improving mutual relations will most likely continue swiftly in the coming year. As the Chinese delegation leader, Deputy Foreign Minister Qian Qichen, announced in talks with a group of Austrian journalists in Beijing on Monday, China no longer attaches importance to a simultaneous fulfillment of all items of that package of demands which the People's Republic had originally placed on the negotiating table. This means that China is evidently also interested in an intensification of bilateral relations.

The next round of talks will take place in Moscow. No date has been fixed, but Qian Qichen pointed out that Moscow obviously feels the "need" to establish closer contacts with China again. "We are ready for this, too. After all, we have common border of 7,000 kilometers, the longest land border in the world," the deputy foreign minister stated.

A complete normalization of relations is only possible, however, if: First, "the threat to China's northeastern border," where the Soviet Union has stationed 50 divisions is eliminated; second, the Soviet troops are withdrawn from Afghanistan; and third, the Soviet Union agrees to a solution of the Cambodia problem along Chinese lines. This implies withdrawal of the Vietnamese troops and an international guarantee for Cambodia which should be a neutral, free country.

"It is hardly possible for the Soviet Union to solve all these problems at once, but even if there were changes with respect to one or another item this would lead to an improvement of relations," the deputy foreign minister stated.

Relations with the United States are not free from problems either. "Do people think we will put up with a violation of our sovereignty out of fear of the Soviet Union? We certainly shall not do this," Qian Qichen stated, referring to U.S. arms deliveries to Taiwan. "So long as there is hegemonism we shall pursue an antihegemonistic policy."

'Little Steps Must Be Taken'

AU071233 Vienna KURIER in German 7 Dec 82 p 3

[Hans Rauscher report from Beijing: "Interview: China: Skepticism About Dialogue With Moscow"]

[Text] How seriously should the talks about a rapprochement between China and the Soviet Union be taken? An Austrian journalists' delegation was able to inform itself about this international puzzler at first hand in Beijing. PRC Deputy Foreign Minister Qian Qichen, who conducted the pertinent negotiations with the Soviet representative Ilichev and will resume them next year in Moscow, appears skeptical but not stiffly intransigent. "The talks will last a long time. They will be marathon talks."

Qian stated that China has acknowledged the fact that the Soviet Union desires better relations but "before that, obstacles must be eliminated." These obstacles comprise the great Soviet troop concentration on the Soviet-Chinese border, the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan and support for the Vietnamese invasion of Cambodia.

Chinese Deputy Foreign Minister Qian also hinted in the talks that it will hardly be possible for the Soviet Union to solve all these problems. "Little steps must be taken concerning these items to improve relations."

The Chinese-Soviet rapprochement is being watched with interest and probably not without concern, particularly in the United States. Qian stated in this respect: "We do not want to play the Soviet card. But we do not wish to play the American card either. Nor will we permit anybody else to play China as a card. The relations between the United States and China on the one hand and those between the USSR and China on the other are not interconnected at all."

Throughout the entire conversation Qian underscored that China continues to look very skeptically at Soviet aspirations to domination. Concerning the peace movement in Western Europe, he said it elicits China's sympathy but added: "The members of the peace movement will find out where the real danger comes from."

Talks To Resume Next Year

OW070858 Hong Kong AFP in English 0640 GMT 7 Dec 82

[By Elisabeth Chang]

[Excerpt] Beijing, Dec. 7 (AFP) -- Sino-Soviet relations could improve if Moscow makes concessions on one of the three fundamental conditions set by Beijing for a normalization between the two countries, a senior Chinese official has indicated.

Vice Foreign Minister Qian Qichen, China's negotiator at the Sino-Soviet discussions begun recently, also stressed that China would continue to regard the Soviet Union as "hegemonist" so long as the three Chinese conditions were not met, Austrian sources said here today.

Mr. Qian made the remarks yesterday while welcoming a delegation of Austrian journalists currently visiting China.

When it resumed its dialogue with Moscow, suspended for nearly three years because of the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, China publicly stated that it saw the large deployment of Soviet troops along its borders, an end to Soviet intervention in Afghanistan and the Kremlin's support for Vietnamese control of Cambodia as a threat to its security.

Informed circles here generally believe that a reduction of forces along the 7,500-km (4,500 miles) Sino-Soviet borders offers the best chance for mutual concession by the two communist giants.

Chinese sources recently described as important remarks made last month by PRAVDA Editor-in-chief Viktor G. Afanasyev, a member of Moscow's Central Committee, who told Japanese journalists that the Sino-Soviet discussions over bilateral relations could lead to an agreement on troop reduction along both sides of the borders.

Beijing already indicated in recent weeks that the three "obstacles" it sees to improved ties with Moscow should not necessarily be lifted simultaneously.

Meanwhile, Chinese leaders have just made a gesture toward Moscow by dispatching then Foreign Minister Huang Hua to the funeral of the [words indistinct] Leonid Brezhnev in Moscow last month. Mr. Huang returned from Moscow after a 90-minute meeting with Soviet Foreign Minister Andrey Gromyko, declaring that he was "quite optimistic" about the prospects of talks now underway between China and the Soviet Union.

Mr. Qian told the Austrian journalists that the talks would resume in Moscow next year. But the vice minister ruled out any restoration of party-to-party ties between Beijing and Moscow in the next two years.

ZHAO ZIYANG MEETS JAPANESE TRADE DELEGATION

OW031832 Beijing XINHUA in English 1710 GMT 3 Dec 82

[Text] Beijing, December 3 (XINHUA) -- Zhao Ziyang, premier of the State Council, said here this afternoon that China's economic adjustment has been successful in a meeting with a delegation from the Japan Association for the Promotion of International Trade. The delegation is led by Shigeichi Koga, vice-chairman of the association.

Zhao said the Sixth Five-Year Plan is a preparation as well as a foundation for the Seventh Five-Year Plan and future economic development. According to the past experience, China's economic construction requires a stable progress, he said.

"The present adjustment of the economy has been very successful which has brought about a turn for the better in the country's economic situation. At this moment, we should remain clear-headed and never forget past lessons. We must work steadily," Zhao said.

Zhao said that the steady and smooth development of China's economy will provide favorable conditions for economic cooperation between China and Japan. He said that peace and friendship between the two countries, and mutual benefit and long-term stability will be the basis for the development of such cooperation.

Koga said that during their stay in China, they have met with officials of many Chinese departments and learned about China's Sixth Five-Year Plan. He said these meetings have left a deep impression on delegation members.

Yasue Katori, Japanese Ambassador to China, was present at the meeting.

This evening, Koga gave a return banquet, which was attended by Liao Chengzhi, vice-chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, Bo Yibo, state councillor; Du Xingyuan, secretary-general of the State Council; Wang Yaoting, chairman of the China Council for the Promotion of International Trade; and other people from China's economic and trade organizations.

BO YIBO VISITS JAPANESE INDUSTRIAL EXHIBIT

OW031234 Beijing XINHUA in English 1221 GMT 3 Dec 82

[Text] Beijing, December 3 (XINHUA) -- State Councillor Bo Yibo paid a visit to the Japanese light industrial machinery and technology exhibition at the Beijing exhibition center here this afternoon.

Accompanied by Vice-Minister in Charge of the State Economic Commission Ma Yi, and Vice-Chairmen of the Japan International Trade Promotion Association Teiji Hagiwara and Shigeichi Koga, Bo Yibo inspected the electronic products, teaching aids, photographic apparatuses, and textile, food processing and woodworking machinery on display.

The exhibition, sponsored by the Japan International Trade Promotion Association which was opened on Wednesday will wind up on December 10.

JAPAN'S NAKASONE ON FOREIGN, DOMESTIC POLICY

OW031856 Beijing XINHUA in English 1647 GMT 3 Dec 82

[Text] Tokyo, December 3 (XINHUA) -- The newly elected Japanese Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone today outlined his foreign and domestic policies to the Diet (Japanese parliament), showing that he would continue by and large the policies of former Prime Minister Zenko Suzuki.

On foreign relations, Nakasone said that "Japan's basic foreign policy is to exert independent diplomatic efforts" in cooperation with the U.S. and West European countries. He described the United States as "Japan's most important partner", pledging to "further strengthen the relationship of trust between Japan and the United States."

Nakasone also pledged to "further strengthen mutual understanding and friendly relations with the countries of Asia." He said, "I would like to play a positive role for the peace and prosperity of this region which is geographically so near to us." He also stressed that Japan would make greater efforts to promote cooperation with developing countries in the economic and technical fields.

On relations with the Soviet Union, Nakasone said that he would make "every effort to establish stable relations" with that country on the basis of genuinely mutual understanding after the settlement of the territorial dispute over Japan's northern territories occupied by the Soviet Union since the end of the last world war, and the conclusion of a peace treaty between the two countries.

On Japan's defense policy, Nakasone said his government would keep the Japan-U.S. security treaty and try to achieve "a qualitative defense buildup necessary for self-defense." However, he pledged, "Japan will not become a major military power and will pay attention not to be of any threat to its neighboring countries."

On internal affairs, Nakasone said that the economic situation was in severe circumstances. He said that his government would try to expand domestic demand and implement measures to help slumping industries and combat unemployment. He also pledged to tackle the current financial difficulties as one of the most urgent tasks.

Meets Shanghai Group

OW061740 Beijing XINHUA in English 1655 GMT 6 Dec 82

[Text] Tokyo, December 6 (XINHUA) -- Japanese Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone expressed the hope here today that the friendly relations between Japan and China will be further developed in all fields. Meeting the Shanghai Municipal People's Government delegation headed by Wang Daohan here this afternoon, Nakasone said the Baoshan Iron and Steel Mill, now being built in the suburbs of Shanghai, is "the symbol of Japan-China friendship," and Japan hopes to further cooperate in the future.

The Shanghai Municipal People's Government delegation arrived in Japan on November 25.

JAPAN'S FOREIGN MINISTER MEETS USSR AMBASSADOR

OW061656 Beijing XINHUA in English 1549 GMT 6 Dec 82

[Text] Tokyo, December 6 (XINHUA) -- Japanese Foreign Minister Shintaro Abe told the Soviet Ambassador Vladimir Pavlov today that Japanese-Soviet friendship could not be established unless the dispute over Japan's northern islands is settled. During their 40-minute talks, the foreign minister told Pavlov that the settlement of the problems of the northern islands is the prerequisite for improving relations between the two countries. The friendship treaty and the development of economic relations between the two countries cannot be materialized when these problems are set aside, the minister said.

The Soviet ambassador told Abe that the Soviet position on the northern islands has not changed.

JAPAN, U.S. BEGIN MILITARY JOINT EXERCISE

OW061658 Beijing XINHUA in English 1512 GMT 6 Dec 82

[Text] Tokyo, December 6 (XINHUA) -- The largest ever Japanese-U.S. joint exercise involving 1,500 Japanese and 600 American ground troops began in central Hokkaido Sunday, according to Japanese press reports. The 5-day exercise, codenamed "Yamasakura III," is the third command post exercise to be carried out in Japan this year.

It is reported that the exercise is designed to further Japanese-U.S. military cooperation in fighting a common enemy with Hokkaido as the imaginary battleground. The exercise will center on the effective battlefield resistance and transport of U.S. ground forces into Hokkaido directly from the U.S. mainland and Hawaii.

The exercise is being carried out on the supposition that 50,000 Japanese troops confront a 30,000-strong hypothetical enemy comprising two Soviet motorized infantry divisions on the coastline of Hokkaido and are forced to effect a gradual withdrawal to the inland. Finally the Japanese troops push the invaders back to the sea with close military backup from 40,000 U.S. troops.

Local mass organizations staged a demonstration against the joint exercise.

JAPANESE MEDIA ON ZHAO SIXTH 5-YEAR PLAN REPORT

OW031314 Beijing XINHUA in English 1259 GMT 3 Dec 82

[Text] Beijing, December 3 (XINHUA) -- The Japanese press generally believes that China's Sixth Five-Year Plan as reported by Chinese Premier Zhao Ziyang to the Fifth National People's Congress is realistic and can be fulfilled.

KYODO, a leading Japanese news agency said that the plan is solid in content. It will lay a comprehensive economic foundation for a high growth rate of the national economy toward the end of the century, it said. For this aim, it said, China will continue with its current economic readjustment program in the Sixth Five-Year Plan period.

It noted that the Sixth Five-Year Plan has called for the allocation of 38.5 percent of its capital investment to energy and transportation, the sectors generally believed to be the biggest obstacles to China's economic development. The percentage is solid. Referring to the 68 percent increase of investment allotted to science and culture over that of the last five-year plan, KYODO said this shows that China attaches importance to building a sound economic foundation.

ASAHI SHIMBUN reported that many people believe that China's Sixth Five-Year Plan can be fulfilled. MAINICHI SHIMBUN said Premier Zhao's report shows that China seeks no excessively high targets but attaches importance to economic effect. YOMIURI SHIMBUN considers the key note of China's Sixth Five-Year Plan is to realise a comprehensive and steady development of the national economy.

Commenting on the great importance attached to developing energy and transportation networks as compared with construction of large industrial projects, NIHON KEIZAI SHIMBUN said if these sectors fare well, the prospects for the planned four-fold increase in output are bright.

SHANGHAI, OSAKA SIGN EXCHANGES AGREEMENT

OW060259 Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 1 Dec 82

[Text] According to a WEN HUI BAO special dispatch from Osaka, a summary of talks was signed in Osaka on the morning of 30 November by the responsible persons of Shanghai Municipality and Osaka Prefecture. According to the summary, Shanghai and Osaka will promote friendly exchanges in 10 fields, beginning in 1983, on the basis of the three principles: equality and mutual benefit, goodwill and cooperation, and stability and development. The summary was signed by Shanghai Mayor Wang Daohan and Osaka Governor (Yasuoka).

The exchanges in 10 fields include: industrial technology, economy and trade, agricultural technology, medicine, culture, science, education, physical culture, youth and architectural technology. The summary of the talks was agreed upon at the third session of the meeting to promote friendly exchanges between Shanghai Municipality and Osaka Prefecture, which was held on the morning of 30 November.

NODONG SINMUN ON KOREAN REUNIFICATION PRINCIPLE

OW070959 Beijing XINHUA in English 0737 GMT 7 Dec 82

[Text] Pyongyang, December 7 (XINHUA) -- NODONG SINMUN points out in an article today that Korea's reunification problem must be solved on the basis of the principle of national independence. The article says the stationing of U.S. troops in South Korea has prevented democratization in South Korea for it is aimed at controlling that part of Korea and prolonging the split of the country. The article condemns the Chon Tu-hwan clique for suppressing South Korean students and patriots, who demand social democracy in South Korea and reunification of the fatherland.

PENG CHONG MEETS AUSTRIAN JOURNALISTS 6 DEC

OW061534 Beijing XINHUA in English 1510 GMT 6 Dec 82

[Text] Beijing, December 6 (XINHUA) -- Peng Chong, vice-chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, met here this afternoon with a delegation of Austrian journalists led by Professor E. Mayer.

Peng Chong briefed the Austrian journalists on the Fifth Session of the Fifth National People's Congress now in session in Beijing.

Peng said the exchanges of visits between press circles of China and Austria will promote the understanding and friendly relations between the two countries. Wolfgang Wolte, Austrian ambassador to China, was present.

DANISH BILL WOULD SUSPEND NATO APPROPRIATIONS

OW272254 Beijing XINHUA in English 1840 GMT 27 Nov 82

[Text] Stockholm, November 27 (XINHUA) -- The Danish Folketing (parliament) adopted a bill Friday calling for the suspension of Denmark's NATO appropriations that would be used in deploying 572 medium-range missiles in Europe. The bill was tabled by the opposition Socialist People's Party and the left-wing Socialist Party, with the backing of the Social Democrats and Radical Liberals.

The parliament decided to set up a committee to study the issue and further debate was planned pending a final resolution during the parliament session.

Prior to this, the Social Democrats, formerly the ruling party, had identical views with other political parties over the country's security and foreign policies, and the Social Democratic Party signed NATO's "double decision" in 1979 when in office. The shift of stand on the part of the Social Democrats was condemned by the present government on the grounds that it would sap Denmark's position in NATO.

FRENCH PRESIDENT MEETS OUTGOING PRC ENVOY

OW030413 Beijing XINHUA in English 0237 GMT 3 Dec 82

[Text] Paris, December 2 (XINHUA) -- President Francois Mitterrand today met with Chinese Ambassador to France Yao Guang, who is leaving for home at the end of his tenure of office, and discussed further development of France-China relations.

Yao Guang gave a farewell reception tonight. Among the 400 people present on the occasion were Minister of State for Transport Charles Fiterman, Minister of sea area [Maritime Affairs] Louis le Pensec, Minister Delegate in charge of youth and sports at the Entertainment Ministry Edwige Avice, Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces Jeannou Lacaze, General Secretary of the Communist Party of France Georges Marchais, Mayor of Paris Jacques Chirac, and diplomats of other countries.

President of the Senate Alain Poher and Mayor Chirac met with Yao Guang on separate occasions December 2 and December 1.

VISIT BY HUSAYN-LED ARAB LEAGUE COMMITTEE

Peace Plan Discussed With Zhao

OW061210 Beijing XINHUA in English 1125 GMT 6 Dec 82

[Text] Beijing, December 6 (XINHUA) -- Chinese Premier Zhao Ziyang held talks with the delegation of the seven-member committee of the Arab League led by King Husayn ibn Talal of Jordan, at the Great Hall of the People here this morning.

It was learned that the talks proceeded in a sincere, friendly and harmonious atmosphere.

King Husayn outlined the Arab peace plan adopted at the 12th summit meeting of Arab states in September.

He said the Palestinian issue is a key to the Middle East question. If this issue does not have an overall and just solution there will be no peace and security in the Middle East. He condemned Israel for denying the Palestinian people their national rights and for killing Palestinian and Lebanese people in Beirut.

The Jordanian king said the Arab peace plan was based on resolutions of the United Nations. It emphasizes that no armed force should be used to seize territories of other countries, that Israel must withdraw from the Arab territories it occupied in 1967, and that the Palestine people must regain the right to establish their own state.

King Husayn urged permanent member states of the U.N. Security Council to work for an overall and just solution of the Middle East question.

The Chinese premier thanked King Husayn for leading an Arab delegation to China to brief the Chinese Government on Arab countries' position on the Middle East question.

Zhao Ziyang pointed out that the eight-point plan for the solution of the Middle East question adopted at the 12th summit meeting of Arab states provides a good basis for solving the question in a reasonable, practical, overall and just way. "We appreciate and support it," he said.

Premier Zhao Ziyang said the Chinese Government always holds that to bring about a sustained peace in the Middle East Israel must withdraw from the Arab territories it occupied in 1967, including Jerusalem, recognize the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people, including return to their homeland, national self-determination and the right to build their own state. Only on this basis can all countries in the Middle East enjoy their rights to independence and peaceful existence. The Arab peace plan coincides with China's position.

The Chinese premier said, "We hold that all peace-loving and justice-upholding countries should support the Arab peace plan and so should the U.N. Security Council."

Premier Zhao Ziyang said that in the final analysis, the recovery of the Palestinian people's national rights and the overall and just settlement of the Middle East question depends on Arab unity. He said the 12th summit meeting of Arab states reflected the Arab people's aspiration and determination and contributed to Arab unity.

Discussing the settlement of the Middle East question, Zhao Ziyang said that the most pressing issue today is to check Israeli aggression and force Israel to pull out all its aggressor troops unconditionally from Lebanon. The Chinese Government holds that Israel's ferocity in committing aggression is directly connected with the United States' connivance and support. The U.S. should correct its policy of shielding Israel and ignoring the Palestinian people's national rights.

Speaking of the traditional friendship between China and Arab states, Premier Zhao Ziyang said that China and Arab states have always sympathized with and supported each other in the common struggle against imperialism, hegemonism and Israeli aggression and expansion and for developing their national economy and safeguarding world peace. He said that China hopes to promote friendly relations with all Arab countries. He declared that whatever happens in the world, the Chinese Government and people will continue to firmly support the just cause of the Arab and Palestinian people.

King Husayn thanked China for rendering consistent support to the Arab and Palestinian people in their just struggle. He said that support has added to the Arab people's confidence. The Arab countries' position on settling the Middle East question, he said, embodies the Arab people's feelings and China's position coincides with that of the Arab countries. He expressed the hope that relations between the Arab states and China will develop on the basis of mutual respect and trust.

Taking part in the talks on the Arab side were 'Abd al-Halim Khaddam, Syrian vice-premier and minister of foreign affairs; Sa'ud ibn al-Faysal minister of foreign affairs of Saudi Arabia; M'hamed Boucetta, Moroccan minister of state in charge of foreign affairs; Marwan al-Qasim, Jordanian minister of foreign affairs; Beji Caid es-Sebsi, Tunisian minister for foreign affairs; Ahmed Taleb Ibrahimi, Algerian minister of foreign affairs; Mahmud 'Abbas, member of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization; Chedli Klibi, secretary general of the Arab League; and Ahmad Lozi, chief of royal cabinet of Jordan.

On the Chinese side were Foreign Minister Wu Xueqian, Vice-Foreign Minister Wen Yezhan and advisor to the Foreign Ministry He Ying.

Hu Backs Arab Struggle

OWO61306 Beijing XINHUA in English 1252 GMT 6 Dec 82

[Text] Beijing, December 6 (XINHUA) -- Hu Yaobang, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, told the seven-member committee of the Arab League in the Great Hall of the People this afternoon China will support the struggle of the Arab people till the final victory.

Hu said the delegation, led by Jordan's King Husayn, is devoted to peace in the Middle East. The Chinese people warmly welcome the delegation.

He said the disastrous effects of Israeli aggression and expansion must be eliminated and the national rights and dignity of the Palestinian people restored, while recognizing the Israeli people's right to peaceful existence.

Hu told the delegation the struggle of the Arab and Palestinian people is a just one. He said he hoped the Arab people will strengthen their unity, win as many countries and people as possible to their side and distinguish the belligerent forces in Israel from the Israeli people.

He said he was convinced that as long as the Arab people continue their efforts and struggle, they are bound to win the final victory.

Husayn said the delegation's discussion this morning with Premier Zhao Ziyang was quite helpful. Both sides share an identical stand, he said. He thanked China for its consistent support to the Arab people and that they are fully confident of victory.

Hu Yaobang asked the foreign ministers of the Arab countries and the representatives of the Palestine Liberation Organization present at the meeting to convey Chinese leaders' regards to their countries' leaders and Chairman 'Arafat.

Foreign Minister Wu Xueqian was present.

Zhao Hosts Banquet for Group

OW061630 Beijing XINHUA in English 1601 GMT 6 Dec 82

[Text] Beijing, December 6 (XINHUA) -- Chinese Premier Zhao Ziyang gave a banquet for the seven-member committee of the Arab League led by Jordan's King Husayn in the Great Hall of the People this evening.

Zhao Ziyang said: "The delegation briefed us on the situation in the Middle East and exchanged views with us. This manifests the trust and friendship of the Arab people toward the Chinese people.

"The Chinese Government and people are concerned about the Middle East situation. Peace and stability in the Middle East not only are closely linked with the interests of the people of countries in the Middle East, but also affect world peace and security," he said.

"Israeli authorities maintain a policy of jingoism and have long wantonly engaged in military aggression against Arab countries. The perverse acts of the Israeli authorities have caused the intense and turbulent situation in the Middle East," he said.

"Only when the aggressive expansion of Israel is contained, and the national rights of Palestinian and other Arab people restored, can a just, all-round and permanent peace be achieved in the Middle East," he said.

Zhao said the United Nations and its Security Council have the responsibility to realize peace in the Middle East, restore the national rights of the Palestinians and uphold the international justice. He said all permanent members of the Council have the duty to promote any programs which are conducive to solving the Middle East problem in a just and all-round way instead of hampering or undermining these programs.

He said the Chinese Government and people strongly condemn Israeli aggression and expansion, and firmly support the people of various Arab countries in their efforts for a solution of the Middle East problem.

Zhao said the eight principles on solving the Middle East problem put forward at the recent summit meeting of Arab states in Fes, Morocco, has provided a sound basis for solving the Middle East problem. The Chinese Government appreciates and supports this effort.

On relations between China and Arab countries, Zhao said China and Arab countries all belong to the Third World. There has been a traditional friendship between the Chinese and Arab peoples.

"We have always sympathized with and supported each other, both in the struggles against imperialists, colonialists and the Israeli aggression and expansion, and in the common cause of developing our national economies and safeguarding world peace," Zhao said.

He said it has been the consistent stand of the Chinese Government that united and powerful Arab countries are not only vital to the interests of the Arab people, but are also the common aspiration of the Chinese people and the peoples of the world.

Zhao reiterated the Chinese people's stand on the side of the Arab people. He also emphasized the nation's aspiration to develop friendly relations in political, economic, trade and cultural fields with Arab countries.

King Husayn said the delegation had a long talk with Premier Zhao Ziyang this morning. The premier was brief on the situation confronting Arab countries and on the Arab and Palestinian peoples' sufferings resulting from the Israeli occupation and the escalating Zionist aggression.

"China understands very much our objectives, our views are converging and identical with China's," the king said.

He said the Arabs reached agreement on the resolution of the Fes summit, which led to the unity among them. Now they are making efforts to talk with various countries and are working continuously and earnestly to restore their rights and liberate their land under occupation since 1967. Primarily, he said, they want to liberate the symbol of justice and peace -- Arab Jerusalem, so that Arab and Palestinian people, like all other peoples who have won their freedom, may exercise their right of self-determination.

Husayn said the Arab people don't want to involve themselves in international disputes. They oppose the greedy hegemonists who covet their natural resources and interfere in their internal affairs.

"They have their own capability to carry out the responsibility for their own security and realization of social prosperity," he said.

After reviewing the traditional friendship between the Arab and Chinese peoples, Husayn said "Ever since the reawakening and the struggle for freedom of your great nation, the relations between the Chinese and the Arab nations have become closer each passing day. On the Palestinian and all Arab questions, the Arab people have always found supporters and sympathizers in you.

"As a united Arab delegation living among you, we would like to convey to you once more the friendship of the Arab people. We have been hoping to cooperate with you in all fields beneficial to both of us," he said.

"The great Chinese people advocate the principles of justice, freedom, cooperation and friendship among nations and peoples, as well as independence, through self-reliance and the pursuit of freedom. They give full play to the feelings of the nation's citizens of being masters of the country, thus making them willing to devote their all for their country. In these aspects, the Chinese people have made great contributions," Husayn said.

"The delegation's visit reflects the fact that the Arab people are willing, and endeavor, to increase the cooperation between the Arab countries and China, and enhance the existing friendship between them," he said.

Present were Wei Guoqing, vice-chairman of the Standing Committee of the People's Congress, Wu Xueqian, foreign minister, Chi Haotian, deputy chief of staff of the Chinese People's Liberation Army.

Also on hand were diplomatic envoys of Arab countries and an official of the mission of the Palestine Liberation Organization in Beijing.

Prior to the banquet, Wu Xueqian gave a party for the foreign ministers of the committee and the P.L.O. representative.

Significance Noted

OW051659 Beijing XINHUA in English 1639 GMT 5 Dec 82

["Mission for Fair, Comprehensive Solution to Mid-East Issue" -- XINHUA headline]

[Text] Beijing, December 5 (XINHUA Correspondent) -- China is receiving with open arms the Arab League's committee of seven delegation led by Jordanian King Husayn ibn Talal, which arrived here this evening on another leg of its tour of the permanent members of the U.N. Security Council.

There is every reason to welcome these envoys who are bringing with them an Arab peace plan, which constitutes the basis for a fair and comprehensive solution to the Middle East problem that has agonized the Arabs and disturbed other peoples too much and for too long a period to allow any delay in resolution.

Adopted at the 12th Arab League summit held last September in Morocco's Fes, the plan consists in eight principles which struck home in solving the matter at issue by calling for Israel's withdrawal from all the occupied territories, the creation of an independent Palestinian state and a U.N. Security Council guarantee of peace for all the states in the region.

It goes without saying that these are the indispensable criteria if there is going to be any fair and comprehensive solution to the problem at all, and they are in full accord with the U.N. resolutions related to the matter.

What is more, the Fes plan is the product of an Arab consensus and solidarity. The whole question is now left to the behavior of Israel and its patron on whom the eyes of the public are fixed.

The root cause of the protracted Middle East trouble and unrest has been the unbridled external expansion and aggression of Israel under U.S. aegis. The United States, which regards Israel as its closest ally and a beach-head in its pursuit of hegemonic interests in the Middle East, has been giving it seven million dollars a day in aid, in addition to large quantities of sophisticated arms. Although there seemed to be some change in the U.S. stance in recent months, the Reagan administration still refuses to admit that Israel has committed flagrant acts of aggression abroad and to recognize the Palestinian people's right to self-determination, including their right to establish an independent state, and the Palestine Liberation Organization, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinians.

An Israel steeped in evil plus continued U.S. support for it constitutes the major block in the way of the Arab peace plan, and makes it all the more necessary for the peace and justice loving people all over the world to countenance it.

The European Economic Community, which also has vital interests in the Middle East, looks at the Middle East issue in a different way. At the Venice summit in June, 1980, it recognized the right of the Palestinian people to full self-determination and acknowledged the need for PLO connection with any peace talks on the matter. Furthermore, France recognized the Palestinians' right to establish a state of their own, to the welcome of the Arab world.

What is regrettable, however, is that the seven-member committee delegation has failed to realize its planned trip to Britain because of the presence of a PLO representative in the mission. The refusal of Britain to receive him has added to the complexities which the Arab world is facing in advancing its peace objective in the area.

It is the hope of the Chinese people that the Arab peoples will further increase their unity in combating their common enemy and surmounting the difficulties in the way so that the Middle East problem can be solved comprehensively and fairly.

Commentator on Arab Issues

HK070943 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 7 Dec 82 p 6

[Commentator's Article: "The Problems of the Middle East Must Be Solved Fairly and in Their Entirety"]

[Text] On behalf of the Arab League, a delegation of the seven-member committee of the Arab League has come from afar to visit China -- which is a permanent member of the UN Security Council -- and to brief the Chinese leaders on the Arab states' plan and principled stand on a solution of the Middle East problem. This important step taken jointly by the Arab states to solve the Middle East problem in a just and comprehensive way fully manifests the Arab states' sincerity and realism in solving the Middle East problem. The Chinese people warmly welcome and highly appraise them.

The Middle East is one of the hot spots of the world today and developments in that situation greatly affect the peace and stability of the world. All countries of the world today are concerned about ways to solve the Middle East problem. Some countries have proposed several different plans. Among them, U.S. President Ronald Reagan's new proposal has been much talked about. This new proposal has some positive factors but indicates that the United States basically has not changed its wrong stand of disregarding the Palestinian people's legal rights and being partial to Israel. Therefore, it cannot truly solve the Middle East problem.

Summing up their experiences of struggle in the past several decades and proceeding from reality, the Arab states put forth their plan for solving the Middle East problem at the 12th summit of the Arab League held in September this year. This plan stressed that Israel must withdraw from its occupied Arab land. It reiterated that the PLO was the only legitimate representative of the Palestinian people and that the Palestinian people had the national right to build a Palestinian state. It also asked the United Nations Security Council to guarantee peace in the countries (including the independent Palestinian state) in the region.

This was the first workable and constructive plan for solving the Middle East problem jointly put forth by the Arab states since the outbreak of the Arab-Israeli conflict. It fully expressed the common wishes and voices of vast numbers of Palestinians and Arabs. Adhering to their consistent stand of firmly supporting the Palestinian people in their just struggle, the Chinese Government and people appreciated and supported this plan as soon as it was put forth.

At present, the plan put forth by the Arab States and the vigorous efforts they have made to implement this plan have won extensive approval from all countries and people of the world that uphold justice. The Chinese people are deeply convinced that whatever Begin and his like may do to hamper and undermine this plan, the Middle East problem may and surely will be solved in a just, reasonable and comprehensive way provided the Arab people become more unified and the heroic Palestinian people fight bravely and unremittingly under the leadership of the PLO, their sole legitimate representative.

ISRAELI WEST BANK SETTLEMENT ACTS RAPPED

RENMIN RIBAO Commentary

HK040836 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 4 Dec 82 p 6

["Short Commentary": "New Provocation of the Begin Authorities"]

[Text] According to reports, the Begin authorities have decided to establish Jewish towns on the West Bank of the Jordan and to increase the Jewish population there by 300 percent to 75,000 within 3 years. This is yet another provocation by the Begin authorities against the world's people.

The Israeli authorities have been clamoring for a long time that the West Bank, inhabited by Palestinians, is ancient Jewish land and a component part of Israeli territory. The unceasingly have built Jewish settlements in that area -- so far over 100. The Israeli authorities thus are vainly attempting to claim the West Bank for themselves and to obstruct and sabotage a just and fair solution of the Palestinian problem. The behavior of the Israeli authorities consistently has been strongly opposed by the international community. Even the U.S. Government, which supports Israel, holds that Israel should freeze its expansion of settlements.

Far from retracting amid international condemnation, the Israeli authorities now actually have intensified their efforts and speeded up their annexation of the West Bank, openly taking this to the point of wanting to build Jewish towns, increase the proportion of the Jewish population, change the West Bank's affiliation, and completely obliterate the Palestinian cause. The international community cannot tolerate these arrogant moves of the Begin authorities.

The new tricks of the Begin authorities are also a challenge to the Reagan Middle East plan. The Begin authorities came out with this trick just after the United States had announced it was providing Israel with a huge sum in economic aid. People are closely watching to see if this time the United States again will resign itself to the situation.

West Bank Ex-Mayors' Views

OW061754 Beijing XINHUA in English 1540 GMT 6 Dec 82

[Text] Damascus, December 6 (XINHUA) -- Israel is pursuing a policy of colonial occupation on the West Bank and Gaza, former mayor of Halhoul Mohammed Milhim told XINHUA recently.

Milihim is one of the former mayors in the West Bank who have been forced to leave West Bank because of their opposition to the Israeli annexation. In an interview in Amman, the capital of Jordan, a few days ago, he talked about the intensifying Israeli control and annexation of West Bank and Gaza.

Milihim said Israel has set up 138 settlements on West Bank and 12 others on Gaza since 1967. 40 of them were set up by Israeli troops. Israeli Defense Minister Ariel Sharon has said those troops' settlements are part of the Israeli armed forces.

He said these settlements have cut up and encircled the Palestinian land, indicating the Israeli annexation attempt. He said one of the reasons for his expulsion in 1980 was his opposition to the Jewish settlements when he was a mayor. Since then, the Israeli authorities have tried to appoint their own man to be the mayor, but their attempt failed because of the Palestinian people's opposition. "This in itself shows our people's strength and determination," he stressed.

The former mayor of Khalil, Fahd Gawasmi, said that the Israelis used to set up their settlements around the city, but they are moving their homes to the city center now. The new settlers, armed with automatic rifles, beat residents in the street, terrorizing the atmosphere in order to compel the Palestinian people to leave. "About 5,000 people have left their homes since Israel's occupation of the city in 1967," he noted.

In Amman, former dean of the Nablus University Munzer Salah told XINHUA that since last September, the Israeli authorities have been forcing the teachers of the university to sign a "letter of pledge." The letter warned that they will be expelled from the West Bank if they still promise to support the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO). The teachers rejected the authorities' unreasonable demand, he confirmed.

Salah himself was relieved of the post of dean of Nablus University because of his rejection of Israel's "letter of pledge."

Salah claimed that the Israeli authorities have failed in their attempt to show the world that the intellectuals in the West Bank do not support the PLO. Instead they have declared to the world with their deeds that they are participants in, and defenders of, the Palestinian cause, he stated.

The former mayor of Bireh, Abdul Jawad Salah, told XINHUA that Israel is attempting to wipe out the Palestinian armed force through its invasion of Lebanon and then to press the Palestinian people in the occupied areas to give in. But the Palestinians are still fighting for the restoration of their national right and an independent Palestinian state, he added.

TEXT OF NEW PRC CONSTITUTION PUBLISHED

OW041134 Beijing XINHUA in English 1114 GMT 4 Dec 82

[Text] Beijing, December 4 (XINHUA) -- Following is the full text of the new constitution of the People's Republic of China adopted by the Fifth National People's Congress at its fifth session here this afternoon.

Constitution of the People's Republic of China

(Adopted on December 4, 1982, by the Fifth National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China at its fifth session)

Table of Contents

Preamble

Chapter One: General Principles

Chapter Two: The Fundamental Rights and Duties of Citizens

Chapter Three: The Structure of the State

Section I: The National People's Congress

Section II: The President of the People's Republic of China

Section III: The State Council

Section IV: The Central Military Commission

Section V: The Local People's Congresses and the Local People's Governments
at Different Levels

Section VI: The Organs of Self-Government of National Autonomous Areas

Section VII: The People's Courts and the People's Procuratorates

Chapter Four: The National Flag, the National Emblem and the Capital

Constitution of the People's Republic of China

Preamble

China is one of the countries with the longest histories in the world. The people of all nationalities in China have jointly created a splendid culture and have a glorious revolutionary tradition.

Feudal China was gradually reduced after 1840 to a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country. The Chinese people waged wave upon wave of heroic struggles for national independence and liberation and for democracy and freedom.

Great and earth-shaking historical changes have taken place in China in the 20th century.

The Revolution of 1911, led by Dr Sun Yat-sen, abolished the feudal monarchy and gave birth to the Republic of China. But the Chinese people had yet to fulfill their historical task of overthrowing imperialism and feudalism.

After waging hard, protracted and tortuous struggles, armed and otherwise, the Chinese people of all nationalities led by the Communist Party of China with Chairman Mao Zedong as its leader ultimately, in 1949, overthrew the rule of imperialism, feudalism and boureaucrat-capitalism, won the great victory of the new-democratic revolution and founded the People's Republic of China. Thereupon the Chinese people took state power into their own hands and became masters of the country.

After the founding of the People's Republic, the transition of Chinese society from a new-democratic to a socialist society was effected step by step. The socialist transformation of the private ownership of the means of production was completed, the system of exploitation of man by man eliminated and the socialist system established. The people's democratic dictatorship led by the working class and based on the alliance of workers and peasants, which is in essence the dictatorship of the proletariat, has been consolidated and developed. The Chinese people and the Chinese People's Liberation Army have thwarted aggression, sabotage and armed provocations by imperialists and hegemonists, safeguarded China's national independence and security and strengthened its national defence. Major successes have been achieved in economic development. An independent and fairly comprehensive socialist system of industry has in the main been established. There has been a marked increase in agricultural production. Significant progress has been made in educational, scientific, cultural and other undertakings, and socialist ideological education has yielded noteworthy results. The living standards of the people have improved considerably.

Both the victory of China's new-democratic revolution and the successes of its socialist cause have been achieved by the Chinese people of all nationalities under the leadership of the Communist Party of China and the guidance of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, and by upholding truth, correcting errors and overcoming numerous difficulties and hardships. The basic task of the nation in the years to come is to concentrate its effort on socialist modernization. Under the leadership of the Communist Party of China and the guidance of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, the Chinese people of all nationalities will continue to adhere to the people's democratic dictatorship and follow the socialist road, steadily improve socialist institutions, develop socialist democracy, improve the socialist legal system and work hard and self-reliantly to modernize industry, agriculture, national defence and science and technology step by step to turn China into a socialist country with a high level of culture and democracy.

The exploiting classes as such have been eliminated in our country. However, class struggle will continue to exist within certain limits for a long time to come. The Chinese people must fight against those forces and elements, both at home and abroad, that are hostile to China's socialist system and try to undermine it.

Taiwan is part of the sacred territory of the People's Republic of China. It is the lofty duty of the entire Chinese people, including our compatriots in Taiwan, to accomplish the great task of reunifying the motherland.

In building socialism it is imperative to rely on the workers, peasants and intellectuals and unite with all the forces that can be united. In the long years of revolution and construction, there has been formed under the leadership of the Communist Party of China a broad patriotic united front that is composed of democratic parties and people's organizations and embraces all socialist working people, all patriots who support socialism and all patriots who stand for reunification of the motherland. This united front will continue to be consolidated and developed. The Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference is a broadly representative organization of the united front, which has played a significant historical role and will continue to do so in the political and social life of the country, in promoting friendship with the people of other countries and in the struggle for socialist modernization and for the reunification and unity of the country.

The People's Republic of China is a unitary multi-national state built up jointly by the people of all its nationalities. Socialist relations of equality, unity and mutual assistance have been established among them and will continue to be strengthened. In the struggle to safeguard the unity of the nationalities, it is necessary to combat big-nation chauvinism, mainly Han chauvinism, and also necessary to combat local-national chauvinism. The state does its utmost to promote the common prosperity of all nationalities in the country.

China's achievements in revolution and construction are inseparable from support by the people of the world. The future of China is closely linked with that of the whole world. China adheres to an independent foreign policy as well as to the five principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence in developing diplomatic relations and economic and cultural exchanges with other countries. China consistently opposes imperialism, hegemonism and colonialism, works to strengthen unity with the people of other countries, supports the oppressed nations and the developing countries in their just struggle to win and preserve national independence and develop their national economies, and strives to safeguard world peace and promote the cause of human progress.

This constitution affirms the achievements of the struggles of the Chinese people of all nationalities and defines the basic system and basic tasks of the state in legal form; it is the fundamental law of the state and has supreme legal authority. The people of all nationalities, all state organs, the armed forces, all political parties and public organizations and all enterprises and undertakings in the country must take the constitution as the basic norm of conduct, and they have the duty to uphold the dignity of the constitution and ensure its implementation.

Chapter One

General Principles

Article 1

The People's Republic of China is a socialist state under the people's democratic dictatorship led by the working class and based on the alliance of workers and peasants.

The socialist system is the basic system of the People's Republic of China. Sabotage of the socialist system by any organization or individual is prohibited.

Article 2

All power in the People's Republic of China belongs to the people.

The organs through which the people exercise state power are the National People's Congress and the local people's congresses at different levels.

The people administer state affairs and manage economic, cultural and social affairs through various channels and in various ways in accordance with the law.

Article 3

The state organs of the People's Republic of China apply the principle of democratic centralism.

The National People's Congress and the local people's congresses at different levels are instituted through democratic election. They are responsible to the people and subject to their supervision.

All administrative, judicial and procuratorial organs of the state are created by the people's congresses to which they are responsible and under whose supervision they operate.

The division of functions and powers between the central and local state organs is guided by the principle of giving full play to the initiative and enthusiasm of the local authorities under the unified leadership of the central authorities.

Article 4

All nationalities in the People's Republic of China are equal. The state protects the lawful rights and interests of the minority nationalities and upholds and develops the relationship of equality, unity and mutual assistance among all of China's nationalities. Discrimination against and oppression of any nationality are prohibited; any acts that undermine the unity of the nationalities or instigate their secession are prohibited.

The state helps the areas inhabited by minority nationalities speed up their economic and cultural development in accordance with the peculiarities and needs of the different minority nationalities.

Regional autonomy is practised in areas where people of minority nationalities live in compact communities; in these areas organs of self-government are established for the exercise of the right of autonomy. All the national autonomous areas are inalienable parts of the People's Republic of China.

The people of all nationalities have the freedom to use and develop their own spoken and written languages, and to preserve or reform their own ways and customs.

Article 5

The state upholds the uniformity and dignity of the socialist legal system.

No law or administrative or local rules and regulations shall contravene the constitution.

All state organs, the armed forces, all political parties and public organizations and all enterprises and undertakings must abide by the constitution and the law. All acts in violation of the constitution and the law must be looked into.

No organization or individual may enjoy the privilege of being above the constitution and the law.

Article 6

The basis of the socialist economic system of the People's Republic of China is socialist public ownership of the means of production, namely, ownership by the whole people and collective ownership by the working people.

The system of socialist public ownership supersedes the system of exploitation of man by man; it applies the principle of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work."

Article 7

The state economy is the sector of socialist economy under ownership by the whole people; it is the leading force in the national economy. The state ensures the consolidation and growth of the state economy.

Article 8

Rural people's communes, agricultural producers' co-operatives, and other forms of co-operative economy, such as producers, supply and marketing, credit and consumers' co-operatives, belong to the sector of socialist economy under collective ownership by the working people. Working people who are members of rural economic collectives have the right, within the limits prescribed by law, to farm private plots of cropland and hilly land, engage in household sideline production and raise privately owned livestock.

The various forms of co-operative economy in the cities and towns, such as those in the handicraft, industrial, building, transport, commercial and service trades, all belong to the sector of socialist economy under collective ownership by the working people.

The state protects the lawful rights and interests of the urban and rural economic collectives and encourages, guides and helps the growth of the collective economy.

Article 9

Mineral resources, waters, forests, mountains, grassland, unreclaimed land, beaches and other natural resources are owned by the state, that is, by the whole people, with the exception of the forests, mountains, grasslands, unreclaimed land and reaches that are owned by collectives in accordance with the law.

The state ensures the rational use of natural resources and protects rare animals and plants. The appropriation or damage of natural resources by any organization or individual by whatever means is prohibited.

Article 10

Land in the cities is owned by the state.

Land in the rural and suburban areas is owned by collectives except for those portions which belong to the state in accordance with the law; house sites and private plots of cropland and hilly land are also owned by collectives.

The state may in the public interest take over land for its use in accordance with the law.

No organization or individual may appropriate, buy, sell or lease land, or unlawfully transfer land in other ways.

All organizations and individuals who use land must make rational use of the land.

Article 11

The individual economy of urban and rural working people, operated within the limits prescribed by law, is a complement to the socialist public economy. The state protects the lawful rights and interests of the individual economy.

The state guides, helps and supervises the individual economy by exercising administrative control.

Article 12

Socialist public property is sacred and inviolable.

The state protects socialist public property. Appropriation or damage of state or collective property by any organization or individual by whatever means is prohibited.

Article 13

The state protects the right of citizens to own lawfully earned income, savings, houses and other lawful property.

The state protects by law the right of citizens to inherit private property.

Article 14

The state continuously raises labour productivity, improves economic results and develops the productive forces by enhancing the enthusiasm of the working people, raising the level of their technical skill, disseminating advanced science and technology, improving the systems of economic administration and enterprise operation and management, instituting the socialist system of responsibility in various forms and improving organization of work.

The state practises strict economy and combats waste.

The state properly apportions accumulation and consumption, pays attention to the interests of the collective and the individual as well as of the state and, on the basis of expanded production, gradually improves the material and cultural life of the people.

Article 15

The state practises economic planning on the basis of socialist public ownership. It ensures the proportionate and co-ordinated growth of the national economy through overall balancing by economic planning and the supplementary role of regulation by the market.

Disturbance of the orderly functioning of the social economy or disruption of the state economic plan by any organization or individual is prohibited.

Article 16

State enterprises have decision-making power in operation and management within the limits prescribed by law, on condition that they submit to unified leadership by the state and fulfill all their obligations under the state plan.

State enterprises practise democratic management through congresses of workers and staff and in other ways in accordance with the law.

Article 17

Collective economic organizations have decision-making power in conducting independent economic activities, on condition that they accept the guidance of the state plan and abide by the relevant laws.

Collective economic organizations practise democratic management in accordance with the law, with the entire body of their workers electing or removing their managerial personnel and deciding on major issues concerning operation and management.

Article 18

The People's Republic of China permits foreign enterprises, other foreign economic organizations and individual foreigners to invest in China and to enter into various forms of economic co-operation with Chinese enterprises and other economic organizations in accordance with the law of the People's Republic of China.

All foreign enterprises and other foreign economic organizations in China, as well as joint ventures with Chinese and foreign investment located in China, shall abide by the law of the People's Republic of China. Their lawful rights and interests are protected by the law of the People's Republic of China.

Article 19

The state develops socialist educational undertakings and works to raise the scientific and cultural level of the whole nation.

The state runs schools of various types, makes primary education compulsory and universal, develops secondary, vocational and higher education and promotes pre-school education.

The state develops educational facilities of various types in order to wipe out illiteracy and provide political, cultural, scientific, technical and professional education for workers, peasants, state functionaries and other working people. It encourages people to become educated through self-study.

The state encourages the collective economic organizations, state enterprises and undertakings and other social forces to set up educational institutions of various types in accordance with the law.

The state promotes the nationwide use of putonghua (common speech based on Beijing pronunciation).

Article 20

The state promotes the development of the natural and social sciences, disseminates scientific and technical knowledge, and commends and rewards achievements in scientific research as well as technological discoveries and inventions.

Article 21

The state develops medical and health services, promotes modern medicine and traditional Chinese medicine, encourages and supports the setting up of various medical and health facilities by the rural economic collectives, state enterprises and undertakings and neighbourhood organizations, and promotes sanitation activities of a mass character, all to protect the people's health.

The state develops physical culture and promotes mass sports activities to build up the people's physique.

Article 22

The state promotes the development of literature and art, the press, broadcasting and television undertakings, publishing and distribution services, libraries, museums, cultural centres and other cultural undertakings, that serve the people and socialism, and sponsors mass cultural activities.

The state protects places of scenic and historical interest, valuable cultural monuments and relics and other important items of China's historical and cultural heritage.

Article 23

The state trains specialized personnel in all fields who serve socialism, increases the number of intellectuals and creates conditions to give full scope to their role in socialist modernization.

Article 24

The state strengthens the building of socialist spiritual civilization through spreading education in high ideals and morality, general education and education in discipline and the legal system, and through promoting the formulation and observance of rules of conduct and common pledges by different sections of the people in urban and rural areas.

The state advocates the civic virtues of love for the motherland, for the people, for labour, for science and for socialism, it educates the people in patriotism, collectivism, internationalism and communism and in dialectical and historical materialism; it combats capitalist, feudalist and other decadent ideas.

Article 25

The state promotes family planning so that population growth may fit the plans for economic and social development.

Article 26

The state protects and improves the living environment and the ecological environment, and prevents and remedies pollution and other public hazards.

The state organizes and encourages afforestation and the protection of forests.

Article 27

All state organs carry out the principle of simple and efficient administration, the system of responsibility for work and the system of training functionaries and appraising their work in order constantly to improve quality of work and efficiency and combat bureaucracy.

All state organs and functionaries must rely on the support of the people, keep in close touch with them, heed their opinions and suggestions, accept their supervision and work hard to serve them.

Article 28

The state maintains public order and suppresses treasonable and other counter-revolutionary activities; it penalizes actions that endanger public security and disrupt the socialist economy and other criminal activities, and punishes and reforms criminals.

Article 29

The armed forces of the People's Republic of China belong to the people. Their tasks are to strengthen national defence, resist aggression, defend the motherland, safeguard the people's peaceful labour, participate in national reconstruction, and work hard to serve the people.

The state strengthens the revolutionization, modernization and regularization of the armed forces in order to increase the national defence capability.

Article 30

The administrative division of the People's Republic of China is as follows:

(1) The country is divided into provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities directly under the central government;

(2) Provinces and autonomous regions are divided into autonomous prefectures, counties, autonomous counties and cities;

(3) Counties and autonomous counties are divided into townships, nationality townships and towns.

Municipalities directly under the central government and other large cities are divided into districts and counties. Autonomous prefectures are divided into counties, autonomous counties, and cities.

All autonomous regions, autonomous prefectures and autonomous counties are national autonomous areas.

Article 31

The state may establish special administrative regions when necessary. The systems to be instituted in special administrative regions shall be prescribed by law enacted by the National People's Congress in the light of the specific conditions.

Article 32

The People's Republic of China protects the lawful rights and interests of foreigners within Chinese territory, and while on Chinese territory foreigners must abide by the law of the People's Republic of China.

The People's Republic of China may grant asylum to foreigners who request it for political reasons.

Chapter Two

The Fundamental Rights and Duties of Citizens

Article 33

All persons holding the nationality of the People's Republic of China are citizens of the People's Republic of China.

All citizens of the People's Republic of China are equal before the law.

Every citizen enjoys the rights and at the same time must perform the duties prescribed by the constitution and the law.

Article 34

All citizens of the People's Republic of China who have reached the age of 18 have the right to vote and stand for election, regardless of nationality, race, sex, occupation, family background, religious belief, education, property status, or length of residence, except persons deprived of political rights according to law.

Article 35

Citizens of the People's Republic of China enjoy freedom of speech, of the press, of assembly, of association, of procession and of demonstration.

Article 36

Citizens of the People's Republic of China enjoy freedom of religious belief.

No state organ, public organization or individual may compel citizens to believe in, or not to believe in, any religion; nor may they discriminate against citizens who believe in, or do not believe in, any religion.

The state protects normal religious activities. No one may make use of religion to engage in activities that disrupt public order, impair the health of citizens or interfere with the educational system of the state.

Religious bodies and religious affairs are not subject to any foreign domination.

Article 37

The freedom of person of citizens of the People's Republic of China is inviolable.

No citizen may be arrested except with the approval or by decision of a people's procuratorate or by decision of a people's court, and arrests must be made by a public security organ.

Unlawful deprivation or restriction of citizens' freedom of person by detention or other means is prohibited; and unlawful search of the person of citizens is prohibited.

Article 38

The personal dignity of citizens of the People's Republic of China is inviolable. Insult, libel, false charge or frame-up directed against citizens by any means is prohibited.

Article 39

The home of citizens of the People's Republic of China is inviolable. Unlawful search of, or intrusion into, a citizen's home is prohibited.

Article 40

The freedom and privacy of correspondence of citizens of the People's Republic of China are protected by law. No organization or individual may, on any ground, infringe upon the freedom and privacy of citizens' correspondence except in cases where, to meet the needs of state security or of investigation into criminal offences, public security or procuratorial organs are permitted to censor correspondence in accordance with procedures prescribed by law.

Article 41

Citizens of the People's Republic of China have the right to criticize and make suggestions to any state organ or functionary. Citizens have the right to make to relevant state organs complaints and charges against, or exposures of, violation of the law or dereliction of duty by any state organ or functionary; but fabrication or distortion of facts with the intention of libel or frame-up is prohibited.

In case of complaints, charges or exposures made by citizens, the state organ concerned must deal with them in a responsible manner after ascertaining the facts. No one may suppress such complaints, charges and exposures, or retaliate against the citizens making them.

Citizens who have suffered losses through infringement of their civic rights by any state organ or functionary have the right to compensation in accordance with the law.

Article 42

Citizens of the People's Republic of China have the right as well as the duty to work.

Using various channels, the state creates conditions for employment, strengthens labour protection, improves working conditions and, on the basis of expanded production, increases remuneration for work and social benefits.

Work is the glorious duty of every able-bodied citizen. All working people in state enterprises and in urban and rural economic collectives should perform their tasks with an attitude consonant with their status as masters of the country. The state promotes socialist labour emulation, and commends and rewards model and advanced workers. The state encourages citizens to take part in voluntary labour.

The state provides necessary vocational training to citizens before they are employed.

Article 43

Working people in the People's Republic of China have the right to rest.

The state expands facilities for rest and recuperation of working people, and prescribes working hours and vacations for workers and staff.

Article 44

The state prescribes by law the system of retirement for workers and staff in enterprises and undertakings and for functionaries of organs of state. The livelihood of retired personnel is ensured by the state and society.

Article 45

Citizens of the People's Republic of China have the right to material assistance from the state and society when they are old, ill or disabled. The state develops the social insurance, social relief and medical and health services that are required to enable citizens to enjoy this right.

The state and society ensure the livelihood of disabled members of the armed forces, provide pensions to the families of martyrs and give preferential treatment to the families of military personnel.

The state and society help make arrangements for the work, livelihood and education of the blind, deaf-mute and other handicapped citizens.

Article 46

Citizens of the People's Republic of China have the duty as well as the right to receive education.

The state promotes the all-round moral, intellectual and physical development of children and young people.

Article 47

Citizens of the People's Republic of China have the freedom to engage in scientific research, literary and artistic creation and other cultural pursuits. The state encourages and assists creative endeavours conducive to the interests of the people that are made by citizens engaged in education, science, technology, literature, art and other cultural work.

Article 48

Women in the People's Republic of China enjoy equal rights with men in all spheres of life, political, economic, cultural and social, including family life.

The state protects the rights and interests of women, applies the principle of equal pay for equal work for men and women alike and trains and selects cadres from among women.

Article 49

Marriage, the family and mother and child are protected by the state.

Both husband and wife have the duty to practise family planning.

Parents have the duty to rear and educate their minor children, and children who have come of age have the duty to support and assist their parents.

Violation of the freedom of marriage is prohibited. Maltreatment of old people, women and children is prohibited.

Article 50

The People's Republic of China protects the legitimate rights and interests of Chinese nationals residing abroad and protects the lawful rights and interests of returned overseas Chinese and of the family members of Chinese nationals residing abroad.

Article 51

The exercise by citizens of the People's Republic of China of their freedoms and rights may not infringe upon the interests of the state, of society and of the collective, or upon the lawful freedoms and rights of other citizens.

Article 52

It is the duty of citizens of the People's Republic of China to safeguard the unity of the country and the unity of all its nationalities.

Article 53

Citizens of the People's Republic of China must abide by the constitution and the law, keep state secrets, protect public property and observe labour discipline and public order and respect social ethics.

Article 54

It is the duty of citizens of the People's Republic of China to safeguard the security, honour and interests of the motherland, they must not commit acts detrimental to the security, honour and interests of the motherland.

Article 55

It is the sacred obligation of every citizen of the People's Republic of China to defend the motherland and resist aggression.

It is the honourable duty of citizens of the People's Republic of China to perform military service and join the militia in accordance with the law.

Article 56

It is the duty of citizens of the People's Republic of China to pay taxes in accordance with the law.

Chapter Three

The Structure of the State

Section I

The National People's Congress

Article 57

The National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China is the highest organ of state power. Its permanent body is the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress.

Article 58

The National People's Congress and its Standing Committee exercise the legislative power of the state.

Article 59

The National People's Congress is composed of deputies elected by the provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities directly under the central government, and by the armed forces. All the minority nationalities are entitled to appropriate representation.

Election of deputies to the National People's Congress is conducted by the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress.

The number of deputies to the National People's Congress and the manner of their election are prescribed by law.

Article 60

The National People's Congress is elected for a term of five years.

Two months before the expiration of the term of office of a National People's Congress, its Standing Committee must ensure that the election of deputies to the succeeding National People's Congress is completed. Should exceptional circumstances prevent such an election, it may be postponed by decision of a majority vote of more than two-thirds of all those on the Standing Committee of the incumbent National People's Congress, and the term of office of the incumbent National People's Congress may be extended. The election of deputies to the succeeding National People's Congress must be completed within one year after the termination of such exceptional circumstances.

Article 61

The National People's Congress meets in session once a year and is convened by its Standing Committee. A session of the National People's Congress may be convened at any time the Standing Committee deems this necessary, or when more than one-fifth of the deputies to the National People's Congress so propose.

When the National People's Congress meets, it elects a presidium to conduct its session.

Article 62

The National People's Congress exercises the following functions and powers:

- (1) to amend the constitution;

- (2) to supervise the enforcement of the constitution;
- (3) to enact and amend basic statutes concerning criminal offences, civil affairs, the state organs and other matters;
- (4) to elect the president and the vice-president of the People's Republic of China; (previously translated as chairman and vice-chairman of the People's Republic of China -- translator's note)
- (5) to decide on the choice of the premier of the State Council upon nomination by the president of the People's Republic of China, and to decide on the choice of the vice-premiers, state councillors, ministers in charge of ministries or commissions and the auditor-general and the secretary-general of the State Council upon nomination by the premier;
- (6) to elect the chairman of the Central Military Commission and, upon his nomination, to decide on the choice of all the others on the Central Military Commission;
- (7) to elect the president of the Supreme People's Court;
- (8) to elect the procurator-general of the Supreme People's Procuratorate;
- (9) to examine and approve the plan for national economic and social development and the reports on its implementation;
- (10) to examine and approve the state budget and the report on its implementation;
- (11) to alter or annul inappropriate decisions of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress;
- (12) to approve the establishment of provinces, autonomous regions, and municipalities directly under the central government;
- (13) to decide on the establishment of special administrative regions and the systems to be instituted there;
- (14) to decide on questions of war and peace; and
- (15) to exercise such other functions and powers as the highest organ of state power should exercise.

Article 63

The National People's Congress has the power to recall or remove from office the following persons:

- (1) the president and the vice-president of the People's Republic of China;
- (2) the premier, vice-premiers, state councillors, ministers in charge of ministries or commissions and the auditor-general and the secretary-general of the State Council;
- (3) the chairman of the Central Military Commission and others on the commission;
- (4) the president of the Supreme People's Court; and
- (5) the procurator-general of the Supreme People's Procuratorate.

Article 64

Amendments to the constitution are to be proposed by the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress or by more than one-fifth of the deputies to the National People's Congress and adopted by a majority vote of more than two-thirds of all the deputies to the congress.

Statutes and resolutions are adopted by a majority vote of more than one half of all the deputies to the National People's Congress.

Article 65

The Standing Committee of the National People's Congress is composed of the following: the chairman, the vice-chairmen; the secretary-general; and members.

Minority nationalities are entitled to appropriate representation on the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress.

The National People's Congress elects, and has the power to recall, all those on its Standing Committee.

No one on the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress shall hold any post in any of the administrative, judicial or procuratorial organs of the state.

Article 66

The Standing Committee of the National People's Congress is elected for the same term as the National People's Congress; it exercises its functions and powers until a new Standing Committee is elected by the succeeding National People's Congress.

The chairman and vice-chairmen of the Standing Committee shall serve no more than two consecutive terms.

Article 67

The Standing Committee of the National People's Congress exercises the following functions and powers;

- (1) to interpret the constitution and supervise its enforcement;
- (2) to enact and amend statutes with the exception of those which should be enacted by the National People's Congress;
- (3) to enact, when the National People's Congress is not in session, partial supplements and amendments to statutes enacted by the National People's Congress provided that they do not contravene the basic principles of these statutes;
- (4) to interpret statutes;
- (5) to examine and approve, when the National People's Congress is not in session, partial adjustments to the plan for national economic and social development and to the state budget that prove necessary in the course of their implementation;
- (6) to supervise the work of the State Council, the Central Military Commission, the Supreme People's Court and the Supreme People's Procuratorate;
- (7) to annul those administrative rules and regulations, decisions or orders of the State Council that contravene the constitution or the statutes;

- (8) to annul those local regulations or decisions of the organs of state power of provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities directly under the central government that contravene the constitution, the statutes or the administrative rules and regulations;
- (9) to decide, when the National People's Congress is not in session, on the choice of ministers in charge of ministries or commissions or the auditor-general and the secretary-general of the State Council upon nomination by the premier of the State Council;
- (10) to decide, upon nomination by the chairman of the Central Military Commission, on the choice of others on the commission, when the National People's Congress is not in session;
- (11) to appoint and remove the vice-presidents and judges of the Supreme People's Court, members of its Judicial Committee and the president of the Military Court at the suggestion of the president of the Supreme People's Court;
- (12) to appoint and remove the deputy procurators-general and procurators of the Supreme People's Procuratorate, members of its Procuratorial Committee and the chief procurator of the Military Procuratorate at the request of the procurator-general of the Supreme People's Procuratorate, and to approve the appointment and removal of the chief procurators of the people's procuratorates of provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities directly under the central government;
- (13) to decide on the appointment and recall of plenipotentiary representatives abroad;
- (14) to decide on the ratification and abrogation of treaties and important agreements concluded with foreign states;
- (15) to institute systems of titles and ranks for military and diplomatic personnel and of other specific titles and ranks;
- (16) to institute state medals and titles of honour and decide on their conferment;
- (17) to decide on the granting of special pardons;
- (18) to decide, when the National People's Congress is not in session, on the proclamation of a state of war in the event of an armed attack on the country or in fulfillment of international treaty obligations concerning common defence against aggression;
- (19) to decide on general mobilization or partial mobilization;
- (20) to decide on the enforcement of martial law throughout the country or in particular provinces, autonomous regions or municipalities directly under the central government; and
- (21) to exercise such other functions and powers as the National People's Congress may assign to it.

Article 68

The chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress presides over the work of the Standing Committee and convenes its meetings. The vice-chairmen and the secretary-general assist the chairman in his work.

Chairmanship meetings with the participation of the chairman, vice-chairmen and secretary-general handle the important day-to-day work of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress.

Article 69

The Standing Committee of the National People's Congress is responsible to the National People's Congress and reports on its work to the congress.

Article 70

The National People's Congress establishes a nationalities committee, a law committee, a finance and economic committee, an education, science, culture and public health committee, a foreign affairs committee, an overseas Chinese committee and such other special committees as are necessary. These special committees work under the direction of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress when the congress is not in session.

The special committees examine, discuss and draw up relevant bills and draft resolutions under the direction of the National People's Congress and its Standing Committee.

Article 71

The National People's Congress and its Standing Committee may, when they deem it necessary, appoint committees of inquiry into specific questions and adopt relevant resolutions in the light of their reports.

All organs of state, public organizations and citizens concerned are obliged to supply the necessary information to those committees of inquiry when they conduct investigations.

Article 72

Deputies to the National People's Congress and all those on its Standing Committee have the right, in accordance with procedures prescribed by law, to submit bills and proposals within the scope of the respective functions and powers of the National People's Congress and its Standing Committee.

Article 73

Deputies to the National People's Congress during its sessions, and all those on its Standing Committee during its meetings, have the right to address questions, in accordance with procedures prescribed by law, to the State Council or the ministries and commissions under the State Council, which must answer the questions in a responsible manner.

Article 74

No deputy to the National People's Congress may be arrested or placed on criminal trial without the consent of the presidium of the current session of the National People's Congress or, when the National People's Congress is not in session, without the consent of its Standing Committee.

Article 75

Deputies to the National People's Congress may not be called to legal account for their speeches or votes at its meetings.

Article 76

Deputies to the National People's Congress must play an exemplary role in abiding by the constitution and the law and keeping state secrets and, in production and other work and their public activities, assist in the enforcement of the constitution and the law.

Deputies to the National People's Congress should maintain close contact with the units which elected them and with the people, listen to and convey the opinions and demands of the people and work hard to serve them.

Article 77

Deputies to the National People's Congress are subject to the supervision of the units which elected them. The electoral units have the power, through procedures prescribed by law, to recall the deputies whom they elected.

Article 78

The organization and working procedures of the National People's Congress and its Standing Committee are prescribed by law.

Section II

The President of the People's Republic of China

Article 79

The president and vice-president [zhu xi, fu zhu xi 0031 1598, 0479 0031 1598] of the People's Republic of China are elected by the National People's Congress.

Citizens of the People's Republic of China who have the right to vote and to stand for election and who have reached the age of 45 are eligible for election as president or vice-president of the People's Republic of China.

The term of office of the president and vice-president of the People's Republic of China is the same as that of the National People's Congress, and they shall serve no more than two consecutive terms.

Article 80

The president of the People's Republic of China, in pursuance of decisions of the National People's Congress and its Standing Committee, promulgates statutes, appoints and removes the premier, vice-premiers, state councillors, ministers in charge of ministries or commissions, and the auditor-general and the secretary-general of the State Council; confers state medals and titles of honour; issues orders of special pardons; proclaims martial law; proclaims a state of war; and issues mobilization orders.

Article 81

The president of the People's Republic of China receives foreign diplomatic representatives on behalf of the People's Republic of China and, in pursuance of decisions of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, appoints and recalls plenipotentiary representatives abroad, and ratifies and abrogates treaties and important agreements concluded with foreign states.

Article 82

The vice-president of the People's Republic of China assists the president in his work.

The vice-president of the People's Republic of China may exercise such parts of the functions and powers of the president as the president may entrust to him.

Article 83

The president and vice-president of the People's Republic of China exercise their functions and powers until the new president and vice-president elected by the succeeding National People's Congress assume office.

Article 84

In case the office of the president of the People's Republic of China falls vacant, the vice-president succeeds to the office of president.

In case the office of the vice-president of the People's Republic of China falls vacant, the National People's Congress shall elect a new vice-president to fill the vacancy.

In the event that the offices of both the president and the vice-president of the People's Republic of China fall vacant, the National People's Congress shall elect a new president and a new vice-president. Prior to such election, the chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress shall temporarily act as the president of the People's Republic of China.

Section III

The State Council

Article 85

The State Council, that is, the central people's government, of the People's Republic of China is the executive body of the highest organ of state power; it is the highest organ of state administration.

Article 86

The State Council is composed of the following:

The premier; the vice-premiers; the state councillors; the ministers in charge of ministries; the ministers in charge of commissions; the auditor-general; and the secretary-general.

The premier has overall responsibility for the State Council. The ministers have overall responsibility for the respective ministries or commissions under their charge.

The organization of the State Council is prescribed by law.

Article 87

The term of office of the State Council is the same as that of the National People's Congress.

The premier, vice-premiers and state councillors shall serve no more than two consecutive terms.

Article 88

The premier directs the work of the State Council. The vice-premiers and state councillors assist the premier in his work.

Executive meetings of the State Council are composed of the premier, the vice-premiers, the state councillors and the secretary-general of the State Council.

The premier convenes and presides over the executive meetings and plenary meetings of the State Council.

Article 89

The State Council exercises the following functions and powers:

- (1) to adopt administrative measures, enact administrative rules and regulations and issue decisions and orders in accordance with the constitution and the statutes;
- (2) to submit proposals to the National People's Congress or its Standing Committee;
- (3) to lay down the tasks and responsibilities of the ministries and commissions of the State Council, to exercise unified leadership over the work of the ministries and commissions and to direct all other administrative work of a national character that does not fall within the jurisdiction of the ministries and commissions;
- (4) to exercise unified leadership over the work of local organs of state administration at different levels throughout the country, and to lay down the detailed division of functions and powers between the central government and the organs of state administration of provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities directly under the central government;
- (5) to draw up and implement the plan for national economic and social development and the state budget;
- (6) to direct and administer economic work and urban and rural development;
- (7) to direct and administer the work concerning education, science, culture, public health, physical culture and family planning;
- (8) to direct and administer the work concerning civil affairs, public security, judicial administration, supervision and other related matters;
- (9) to conduct foreign affairs and conclude treaties and agreements with foreign states;
- (10) to direct and administer the building of national defence;
- (11) to direct and administer affairs concerning the nationalities, and to safeguard the equal rights of minority nationalities and the right of autonomy of the national autonomous areas;
- (12) to protect the legitimate rights and interests of Chinese nationals residing abroad and protect the lawful rights and interests of returned overseas Chinese and of the family members of Chinese nationals residing abroad;
- (13) to alter or annul inappropriate orders, directives and regulations issued by the ministries or commissions;
- (14) to alter or annul inappropriate decisions and orders issued by local organs of state administration at different levels;
- (15) to approve the geographic division of provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities directly under the central government, and to approve the establishment and geographic division of autonomous prefectures, counties, autonomous counties and cities;
- (16) to decide on the enforcement of martial law in parts of provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities directly under the central government;

(17) to examine and decide on the size of administrative organs and, in accordance with the law, to appoint, remove and train administrative officers, appraise their work and reward or punish them; and

(18) to exercise such other functions and powers as the National People's Congress or its Standing Committee may assign it.

Article 90

The ministers in charge of ministries or commissions of the State Council are responsible for the work of their respective departments and convene and preside over their ministerial meetings or commission meetings that discuss and decide on major issues in the work of their respective departments.

The ministries and commissions issue orders, directives and regulations within the jurisdiction of their respective departments and in accordance with the statutes and the administrative rules and regulations, decisions and orders issued by the State Council.

Article 91

The State Council establishes an auditing body to supervise through auditing the revenue and expenditure of all departments under the state council and of the local governments at different levels, and those of the state financial and monetary organizations and of enterprises and undertakings.

Under the direction of the premier of the State Council, the auditing body independently exercises its power to supervise through auditing in accordance with the law, subject to no interference by any other administrative organ or any public organization or individual.

Article 92

The State Council is responsible, and reports on its work, to the National People's Congress or when the National People's Congress is not in session, to its Standing Committee.

Section IV

The Central Military Commission

Article 93

The Central Military Commission of the People's Republic of China directs the armed forces of the country.

The Central Military Commission is composed of the following:

The chairman; the vice-chairmen; and members.

The chairman of the Central Military Commission has overall responsibility for the commission.

The term of office of the Central Military Commission is the same as that of the National People's Congress.

Article 94

The chairman of the Central Military Commission is responsible to the National People's Congress and its Standing Committee.

Section V

The Local People's Congresses and the Local People's
Governments at Different Levels

Article 95

People's congresses and people's governments are established in provinces, municipalities directly under the central government, counties, cities, municipal districts, townships, nationality townships and towns.

The organization of local people's congresses and local people's governments at different levels is prescribed by law.

Organs of self-government are established in autonomous regions, autonomous prefectures and autonomous counties. The organization and working procedures of organs of self-government are prescribed by law in accordance with the basic principles laid down in sections V and VI of Chapter Three of the constitution.

Article 96

Local people's congresses at different levels are local organs of state power.

Local people's congresses at and above the county level establish standing committees.

Article 97

Deputies to the people's congresses of provinces, municipalities directly under the central government, and cities divided into districts are elected by the people's congresses at the next lower level; deputies to the people's congresses of counties, cities not divided into districts, municipal districts, townships, nationality townships and towns are elected directly by their constituencies.

The number of deputies to local people's congresses at different levels and the manner of their election are prescribed by law.

Article 98

The term of office of the people's congresses of provinces, municipalities directly under the central government and cities divided into districts is five years. The term of office of the people's congresses of counties, cities not divided into districts, municipal districts, townships, nationality townships and towns is three years.

Article 99

Local people's congresses at different levels ensure the observance and implementation of the constitution, the statutes and the administrative rules and regulations in their respective administrative areas. Within the limits of their authority as prescribed by law, they adopt and issue resolutions and examine and decide on plans for local economic and cultural development and for the development of public services.

Local people's congresses at and above the county level examine and approve the plans for economic and social development and the budgets of their respective administrative areas and examine and approve reports on their implementation. They have the power to alter or annul inappropriate decisions of their own standing committees.

The people's congresses of nationality townships may, within the limits of their authority as prescribed by law, take specific measures suited to the peculiarities of the nationalities concerned.

Article 100

The people's congresses of provinces and municipalities directly under the central government, and their standing committees, may adopt local regulations, which must not contravene the constitution, the statutes and the administrative rules and regulations, and they shall report such local regulations to the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress for the record.

Article 101

At their respective levels, local people's congresses elect, and have the power to recall, governors and deputy governors, or mayors and deputy mayors, or heads and deputy heads of counties, districts, townships and towns.

Local people's congresses at and above the county level elect, and have the power to recall, presidents of people's courts and chief procurators of people's procuratorates at the corresponding level. The election or recall of chief procurators of people's procuratorates shall be reported to the chief procurators of the people's procuratorates at the next higher level for submission to the standing committees of the people's congresses at the corresponding level for approval.

Article 102

Deputies to the people's congresses of provinces, municipalities directly under the central government and cities divided into districts are subject to supervision by the units which elected them, deputies to the people's congresses of counties, cities not divided into districts, municipal districts, townships, nationality townships and towns are subject to supervision by their constituencies.

The electoral units and constituencies which elect deputies to local people's congresses at different levels have the power, according to procedures prescribed by law, to recall deputies whom they elected.

Article 103

The standing committee of a local people's congress at and above the county level is composed of a chairman, vice-chairmen and members, and is responsible, and reports on its work, to the people's congress at the corresponding level.

The local people's congress at and above the county level elects, and has the power to recall, anyone on the standing committee of the people's congress at the corresponding level.

No one on the standing committee of a local people's congress at and above the county level shall hold any post in state administrative, judicial and procuratorial organs.

Article 104

The standing committee of a local people's congress at and above the county level discusses and decides on major issues in all fields of work in its administrative area; supervises the work of the people's government, people's court and people's procuratorate at the corresponding level; annuls inappropriate decisions and orders of the people's government at the corresponding level, annuls inappropriate resolutions of the people's congress at the next lower level, decides on the appointment and removal of functionaries of state organs within its jurisdiction as prescribed by law; and, when the people's congress at the corresponding level is not in session, recalls individual deputies to the people's congress at the next higher level and elects individual deputies to fill vacancies in that people's congress.

Article 105

Local people's governments at different levels are the executive bodies of local organs of state power as well as the local organs of state administration at the corresponding level.

Local people's governments at different levels practise the system of overall responsibility by governors, mayors, county heads, district heads, township heads and town heads.

Article 106

The term of office of local people's governments at different levels is the same as that of the people's congresses at the corresponding level.

Article 107

Local people's governments at and above the county level, within the limits of their authority as prescribed by law, conduct the administrative work concerning the economy, education, science, culture, public health, physical culture, urban and rural development, finance, civil affairs, public security, nationalities affairs, judicial administration, supervision and family planning in their respective administrative areas; issue decisions and orders; appoint, remove and train administrative functionaries, appraise their work and reward or punish them.

People's governments of townships, nationality townships and towns carry out the resolutions of the people's congress at the corresponding level as well as the decisions and orders of the state administrative organs at the next higher level and conduct administrative work in their respective administrative areas.

Article 108

Local people's governments at and above the county level direct the work of their subordinate departments and of people's governments at lower levels, and have the power to alter or annul inappropriate decisions of their subordinate departments and people's governments at lower levels.

Article 109

Auditing bodies are established by local people's governments at and above the county level. Local auditing bodies at different levels independently exercise their power to supervise through auditing in accordance with the law and are responsible to the people's government at the corresponding level and to the auditing body at the next higher level.

Article 110

Local people's governments at different levels are responsible, and report on their work, to people's congresses at the corresponding level. Local people's governments at and above the county level are responsible, and report on their work, to the standing committee of the people's congress at the corresponding level when the congress is not in session.

Local people's governments at different levels are responsible, and report on their work, to the state administrative organs at the next higher level. Local people's governments at different levels throughout the country are state administrative organs under the unified leadership of the state council and are subordinate to it.

Article 111

The residents' committees and villagers' committees established among urban and rural residents on the basis of their place of residence are mass organizations of self-management at the grass-roots level. The chairman, vice-chairmen and members of each residents' or villagers' committee are elected by the residents. The relationship between the residents' and villagers' committees and the grass-roots organs of state power is prescribed by law.

The residents' and villagers' committees establish committees for people's mediation, public security, public health and other matters in order to manage public affairs and social services in their areas, mediate civil disputes, help maintain public order and convey residents' opinions and demands and make suggestions to the people's government.

Section VI

The Organs of Self-Government of National Autonomous Areas

Article 112

The organs of self-government of national autonomous areas are the people's congresses and people's governments of autonomous regions, autonomous prefectures and autonomous counties.

Article 113

In the people's congress of an autonomous region, prefecture or county, in addition to the deputies of the nationality or nationalities exercising regional autonomy in the administrative area, the other nationalities inhabiting the area are also entitled to appropriate representation.

The chairmanship and vice-chairmanships of the standing committee of the people's congress of an autonomous region, prefecture or county shall include a citizen or citizens of the nationality or nationalities exercising regional autonomy in the area concerned.

Article 114

The administrative head of an autonomous region, prefecture or county shall be a citizen of the nationality, or of one of the nationalities, exercising regional autonomy in the area concerned.

Article 115

The organs of self-government of autonomous regions, prefectures and counties exercise the functions and powers of local organs of state as specified in Section V of Chapter Three of the constitution. At the same time, they exercise the right of autonomy within the limits of their authority as prescribed by the constitution, the law of regional national autonomy and other laws, and implement the laws and policies of the state in the light of the existing local situation.

Article 116

People's congresses of national autonomous areas have the power to enact autonomy regulations and specific regulations in the light of the political, economic and cultural characteristics of the nationality or nationalities in the areas concerned. The autonomy regulations and specific regulations of autonomous regions shall be submitted to the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress for approval before they go into effect. Those of autonomous prefectures and counties shall be

submitted to the standing committees of the people's congresses of provinces or autonomous regions for approval before they go into effect, and they shall be reported to the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress for the record.

Article 117

The organs of self-government of the national autonomous areas have the power of autonomy in administering the finances of their areas. All revenues accruing to the national autonomous areas under the financial system of the state shall be managed and used by the organs of self-government of those areas on their own.

Article 118

The organs of self-government of the national autonomous areas independently arrange for and administer local economic development under the guidance of state plans.

In exploiting natural resources and building enterprises in the national autonomous areas, the state shall give due consideration to the interests of those areas.

Article 119

The organs of self-government of the national autonomous areas independently administer educational, scientific, cultural, public health and physical culture affairs in their respective areas, protect and cull through the cultural heritage of the nationalities and work for the development and prosperity of their cultures.

Article 120

The organs of self-government of the national autonomous areas may, in accordance with the military system of the state and concrete local needs and with the approval of the State Council, organize local public security forces for the maintenance of public order.

Article 121

In performing their functions, the organs of self-government of the national autonomous areas, in accordance with the autonomy regulations of the respective areas, employ the spoken and written language or languages in common use in the locality.

Article 122

The state gives financial, material and technical assistance to the minority nationalities to accelerate their economic and cultural development.

The state helps the national autonomous areas train large numbers of cadres at different levels and specialized personnel and skilled workers of different professions and trades from among the nationality or nationalities in those areas.

Section VII

The People's Courts and the People's Procuratorates

Article 123

The people's courts in the People's Republic of China are the judicial organs of the state.

Article 124

The People's Republic of China established the Supreme People's Court and the local people's courts at different levels, military courts and other special people's courts.

The term of office of the president of the Supreme People's Court is the same as that of the National People's Congress, he shall serve no more than two consecutive terms.

The organization of people's courts is prescribed by law.

Article 125

All cases handled by the people's courts, except for those involving special circumstances as specified by law, shall be heard in public. The accused has the right of defence.

Article 126

The people's courts shall, in accordance with the law, exercise judicial power independently and are not subject to interference by administrative organs, public organizations or individuals.

Article 127

The Supreme People's Court is the highest judicial organ.

The Supreme People's Court supervises the administration of justice by the local people's courts at different levels and by the special people's courts; people's courts at higher levels supervise the administration of justice by those at lower levels.

Article 128

The Supreme People's Court is responsible to the National People's Congress and its Standing Committee. Local people's courts at different levels are responsible to the organs of state power which created them.

Article 129

The people's procuratorates of the People's Republic of China are state organs for legal supervision.

Article 130

The People's Republic of China establishes the Supreme People's Procuratorate and the local people's procuratorates at different levels, military procuratorates and other special people's procuratorates.

The term of office of the procurator-general of the Supreme People's Procuratorate is the same as that of the National People's Congress; he shall serve no more than two consecutive terms.

The organization of people's procuratorates is prescribed by law.

Article 131

People's procuratorates shall, in accordance with the law, exercise procuratorial power independently and are not subject to interference by administrative organs, public organizations or individuals.

Article 132

The Supreme People's Procuratorate is the highest procuratorial organ.

The Supreme People's Procuratorate directs the work of the local people's procuratorates at different levels and of the special people's procuratorates; people's procuratorates at higher levels direct the work of those at lower levels.

Article 133

The Supreme People's Procuratorate is responsible to the National People's Congress and its Standing Committee. Local people's procuratorates at different levels are responsible to the organs of state power at the corresponding levels which created them and to the people's procuratorates at the higher level.

Article 134

Citizens of all nationalities have the right to use the spoken and written languages of their own nationalities in court proceedings. The people's courts and people's procuratorates should provide translation for any party to the court proceedings who is not familiar with the spoken or written languages in common use in the locality.

In an area where people of a minority nationality live in a compact community or where a number of nationalities live together, hearings should be conducted in the language or languages in common use in the locality; indictments, judgments, notices and other documents should be written, according to actual needs, in the language or languages in common use in the locality.

Article 135

The people's courts, people's procuratorates and public security organs shall, in handling criminal cases, divide their functions, each taking responsibility for its own work, and they shall co-ordinate their efforts and check each other to ensure correct and effective enforcement of law.

Chapter Four

The National Flag, the National Emblem and the Capital

Article 136

The national flag of the People's Republic of China is a red flag with five stars.

Article 137

The national emblem of the People's Republic of China is Tiananmen in the centre illuminated by five stars and encircled by ears of grain and a cogwheel.

Article 138

The capital of the People's Republic of China is Beijing.

Constitution Fromulgated

OW060001 Beijing XINHUA in English 1309 GMT 4 Dec 82

["Announcement by the National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China" -- XINHUA headline]

[Text] Beijing, 4 Dec (XINHUA) -- The Constitution of the People's Republic was adopted by the Fifth Session of the Fifth National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China on 4 December 1982. It is hereby promulgated and put in force.

[Signed] The Presidium of the Fifth Session of the Fifth National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China, 4 December 1982, Beijing.

FURTHER COVERAGE OF FIFTH SESSION OF FIFTH NPC

Television Coverage

HK070206 [Editorial Report] Beijing Domestic Television Service in Mandarin at 1100 GMT on 4 December carries at the beginning of the evening's newscast a 6-minute filmed report of poor reception on a 4 December plenary meeting of the Fifth Session of the Fifth NPC which is being held in the main auditorium of the Great Hall of the People in Beijing.

The film opens with a close-up shot of a huge PRC emblem hanging on the heavy curtain at the back of the rostrum of the main auditorium of the hall. This is followed by a long shot of many people on the rostrum and in the auditorium attending the plenary meeting. It then gives a medium shot of Peng Zhen, Deng Yingchao, Xi Zhongxun and Yang Shangkun sitting in the first row of the rostrum. During this shot, Zhao Ziyang and Wan Li are seen sitting in the second row of the rostrum; and Hu Yaobang and Deng Xiaoping are seen sitting in the third row of the rostrum. At this point, the announcer begins to read the following namelist: "Executive chairmen of today's meeting are: Peng Zhen, Deng Yingchao, Xi Zhongxun, Ulanhu, Yang Shangkun, Li Jingquan, Wei Guoqing, Seypidin, Peng Chong, Ngapoi Ngawang Jigme, Liao Chengzhi, Hu Juewen, Xu Deheng, Shi Liang, Xiao Jingguang, Banqen Erdini Qoigyil Gyancan, Ting Mao, Hu Lijiao, Xiang Nan, Han Ningfu, Du Xingyuan, Ma Wenrui and Tomur Dawamat." While the namelist is being read, the camera pans to show the other executive chairmen of the meeting sitting in the first row of the rostrum in several medium shots. During these shots, Yu Qiuli, Fang Yi, Gu Mu and Chen Muhua are shown sitting in the second row of the rostrum.

Next, Xi Zhongxun, identified by the announcer as executive chairman of the meeting and vice chairman of the NPC Standing Committee, is shown in a close-up shot and is heard addressing the meeting. The camera then pans to show many deputies to the NPC applauding and then raising their hands. At this point, the announcer says the meeting has ensored the namelist of 62 scrutineers with Chen Zhibin and Du Dihua as chief scrutineers.

Next, a series of medium shots are given of the following PRC leaders casting their ballots into a ballot box on the rostrum: Hu Juewen, Ngapoi Ngawang Jigme, Seypidin, Ulanhu, Deng Yingchao, Li Jingquan (being assisted by a male attendant), Peng Zhen, Xi Zhongxun and Yang Shangkun. After this, Wei Guoqing and Peng Chong are shown following Yang Shangkun and waiting their turns to cast their ballots. Next, many deputies to the NPC are shown walking toward ballot boxes in the auditorium to cast their ballots. This is followed by another series of medium shots of the following PRC leaders casting their ballots into a ballot box on the rostrum: Chen Muhua, Gu Mu, Fang Yi, Yu Qiuli, Wan Li, Zhao Ziyang, Zhang Tingfa, Song Renqiong, Yang Dezhi, Li Desheng, Deng Xiaoping, Hu Yaobang and Wang Zhen. It then shows many deputies to the NPC casting their ballots into ballot boxes in the auditorium.

Next, a close-up shot is shown of Ye Jianying casting his ballot into a ballot box in an unidentified room. This is followed by a medium shot of Tan Zhenlin casting his ballot into a ballot box in an unidentified room. While Ye Jianying is shown casting his ballot, the announcer says: "The meeting has prepared a mobile ballot box for the aged and infirm. Ye Jianying, Tan Zhenlin and some other NPC deputies cast their ballots into this mobile ballot box."

A medium shot is shown of several people standing with their backs to the camera and casting their ballots into a ballot box on the rostrum of the auditorium. This is followed by a close-up shot of Xi Zhongxun, who is seen and heard saying: "According to a report made by the chief scrutineers, a total of 3,040 ballots were cast with 3,037 votes for the adoption of the constitution and no opposing votes. There are three abstentions. It is now declared that the PRC Constitution has been endorsed by this meeting." The camera then pans to show people on the rostrum and in the auditorium applauding.

The following segment shows Xi Zhongxun asking the NPC deputies to raise their hands to adopt a resolution on the functions and powers of the present NPC Standing Committee. The film then gives a medium shot of Zhao Ziyang and Wan Li raising their hands. During the shot, the announcer says the meeting has adopted the resolution. This is followed by a medium shot of many people applauding on the rostrum and several long and medium shots of many NPC deputies sitting in the auditorium. Next, the film gives a long shot of many NPC deputies in the auditorium raising their hands to adopt a resolution on the PRC national anthem. The filmed report ends with a long shot of many deputies in the auditorium applauding the adoption of the resolution.

Leaders at 30 Nov Meeting

OW030353 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 1200 GMT 30 Nov 82

[Excerpts] The Fifth Session of the Fifth NPC opened its second plenary meeting in the Great Hall of the People here this afternoon.

Peng Zhen, executive chairman of the session and vice chairman of the NPC Standing Committee, declared the plenary meeting open at 1500.

Other executive chairmen for the meeting were Ngapoi Ngawang Jigme, Yang Shangkun, Yan Dakai, Li Huang, Xu Jiatun, Yang Shangkui, Wan Da, Li Tinggui, Wang Shitai and Basang. Members participating in the Fifth Session of the Fifth CPPCC National Committee attended the meeting as observers. Also present at the meeting as observers were personnel of the State Council, responsible persons of commissions of the NPC, the Supreme People's Court, the Supreme People's Procuratorate and departments directly under the CPC Central Committee and the State Council, responsible persons of the various general departments, arms, services and military academies of the PLA, and Chinese envoys to foreign countries currently in Beijing. Foreign diplomats to China and foreign correspondents in Beijing attended the meeting as visitors.

Leaders at 1 Dec Meeting

OW011452 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0410 GMT 1 Dec 82

[Excerpts] Beijing, 1 Dec (XINHUA) -- A meeting of the Fifth Session of the Fifth NPC was held at the Great Hall of the People this morning. Entrusted by the State Council, Finance Minister Wang Bingqian delivered a report on the implementation of the state budget for 1982 and the draft state budget for 1983 to the NPC session. Deng Yingchao, executive chairman and vice chairman of the NPC Standing Committee, presided over today's meeting. Also attending today's meeting were Executive Chairmen Wei Guoqing, Hu Juewen, Shi Liang, Pan Chengxiao, Li Youwen, Tie Ying, Zhao Lin, Li Jianzhen, An Pingsheng, Zhaxi Wangqug and Ma Qingnian.

Also attending this morning's meeting as observers were CPPCC members attending the Fifth Session of the Fifth National CPPCC Committee; staff of the State Council; responsible persons of the various NPC committees; the Supreme People's Court; the Supreme People's Procuratorate; the organs under the direct administration of the CPC Central Committee; the organs directly under the State Council; responsible persons of the various PLA general headquarters, the various services and arms of the PLA and the military academies; and the Chinese envoys to foreign countries who are in Beijing.

Also present at today's meeting as observers were the envoys of various countries to China and foreign news reporters who are in Beijing.

Leaders at 6 Dec Presidium

OW061015 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0702 GMT 6 Dec 82

[Excerpts] Beijing, 6 Dec (XINHUA) -- The Presidium of the Fifth Session of the Fifth NPC held the third meeting at the Great Hall of the People this morning. It discussed and approved the draft resolutions and the report on the examination of the 1982 state budget and the draft state budget for 1983 to be submitted to the congress for deliberation.

Today's meeting was presided over by Peng Zhen, executive chairman of the presidium.

Also attending today's meeting were Executive Chairmen of the Presidium Ulanhu, Wei Guoqing, Peng Chong, Seypidin, Liao Chengzhi, Ngawang-Jigme, Xu Deheng, Hu Juewen, Shi Liang, Xi Zhongxun, Yang Shangkun and Bainqen Erdini Qoigyai Gyaincain.

Leaders at 6 Dec Meeting

OW062357 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0712 GMT 6 Dec 82

[Excerpts] Beijing, 6 Dec (XINHUA) -- A plenary meeting of the Fifth Session of the Fifth National People's Congress was held at the Great Hall of the People on the morning of 6 December to hear explanations given on four draft laws and on matters concerning the number and election of deputies to the Sixth National People's Congress.

Liao Chengzhi, executive chairman of the plenary meeting and vice chairman of the NPC Standing Committee, presided over the 6 December meeting.

Attending today's meeting were Executive Chairmen Peng Chong, Bainqen Erdini Qoigyai Gyaincain, Yang Dezhi, Yuan Bosheng, Zhao Dezun, Ku Zhuoxin, Liu Jie, Huang Rong and Lin Liyun.

PLA Deputies on Zhao Report

OW040553 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1436 GMT 3 Dec 82

[Text] Beijing, 3 Dec (XINHUA) -- At the panel discussions on Premier Zhao Ziyang's report on the Sixth 5-Year Plan, PLA deputies pledged to carry forward the glorious tradition of the people's army and, while fulfilling the tasks in military training and war preparedness, actively take part in the construction of the country in order to contribute their share to the fulfillment of the Sixth 5-Year Plan. [passage indistinct]

Fu Chongbi, NPC deputy and political commissar of the Beijing PLA units, said: (?In order) to meet the needs in the development of the national economy, PLA units should make great efforts to train talented people needed for army and local construction. We may use our spare time to organize cadres and fighters to study physics, electricity and other specialized knowledge needed by the army and the local people, to contribute our share to the construction of the country.

Hong Xuezhi, NPC deputy and director of the PLA General Logistics Department, said: PLA units must take the initiative in increasing income and reducing expenditures, tapping the potential for increasing income, and making the best use of the current military budget in order to lighten the government's burden and increase strength for economic construction. The army expects to harvest a total of 1.25 billion jin of grain this year, and income from sideline production has also increased by a fairly big margin. In this way the PLA supports the construction of the country. From now on, PLA units should engage in agricultural, forestry, animal husbandry, fishery and sideline production whenever conditions permit.

Xu Guangyi, NPC deputy and deputy director of the PLA General Logistics Department, and Li Chunming, NPC deputy and deputy director of the finance department under the PLA General Logistics Department, pointed out: Despite the reduction in the military budget in recent years, the financial situation in the army is still good, mainly because the whole army, from top to bottom, has unified their thinking and understanding and done work in order of importance and urgency, by making the part subordinate to the whole, immediate interests subordinate to long-range interests and filling needs in accordance with the availability of material resources. Therefore, we were able to achieve a little surplus in the military budget last year and spent a portion of the budget on solving problems needing to be solved right away. The whole army, cadres and fighters alike, volunteered to share the difficulties of the government. The task of purchasing state treasury bonds was overfulfilled by 42.2 percent. The army also did its share helping various localities combat natural calamities last year. According to incomplete statistics, PLA units delivered a total of 4.5 million jin of food and 1.48 million articles of clothing, dispatched some 90,000 vehicles and 6,000 airplanes and vessels, transported 800,000 dun of supplies and sent out 2,700 medical teams. The deputies said: The PLA will continue to contribute to the construction of the country.

Xiao Hua, NPC deputy and first political commissar of the Lanzhou PLA units, said: We should constantly remind ourselves that ours is a big country with a vast population and weak foundations. We should not [words indistinct] in our socialist construction. It is necessary to bring into full play the Yanan spirit and rely on ourselves in achieving the goal of "ensuring a 4 percent, and striving for a 5 percent, growth in the economic output value" at an early date. He said: Imbued with the glorious tradition of supporting local people's construction, the Lanzhou PLA units have, in recent years, done an enormous job in helping local people build water conservation facilities, highways and railways, plant trees and control deserts. We will take a more active part in the construction of the country and speed up the pace of economic development in the Sixth 5-Year Plan.

Yang Chengwu and Fu Kuiqing, NPC deputies and respectively commander and political commissar of the Fuzhou PLA units, said: The army shoulders an unshirkable duty in the Sixth 5-Year Plan. Recently, during his visit to Fujian to conduct investigation and study, Comrade Hu Yaobang urged the province to take the lead in national economic development, by relying on the five forces and mobilizing the five positive factors, of which the army is one. He called on armymen to actively take part in mobilizing people's thinking, giving technical guidance and building difficult engineering projects. Yang Chengwu and Fu Kuiqing said: In supporting local construction in the future, the Fuzhou PLA units will concentrate their efforts on major social undertakings and difficult engineering projects in order to contribute their share to the fulfillment of the Sixth 5-Year Plan.

Text of Peng Zhen Report

OW050149 Beijing XINHUA in English 0103 GMT 5 Dec 82

[Text] Beijing, December 5 (XINHUA) -- Following is the full text of the report on the draft of the revised constitution of the People's Republic of China delivered by Peng Zhen, vice-chairman of the Committee for Revision of the Constitution, on November 26, 1982, at the Fifth Session of the Fifth National People's Congress:

Members of the Presidium and fellow deputies,

I am entrusted by Chairman Ye Jianying of the Committee for Revision of the Constitution with the task of reporting on the draft of the revised constitution on behalf of the committee.

The constitution currently in force was adopted by the Fifth National People's Congress at its First Session held in March 1978. Since then, our country has passed through a period of important historical change. After the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party convened in December 1978, the party and the state led the whole people in rectifying the mistakes of the "Cultural Revolution" in all fields, summed up in a deep-going way the historical experience gained since the founding of the People's Republic and restored, or in the light of the new situation formulated, a series of correct principles and policies which have enormously changed the country's political, economic and cultural life.

The constitution as it stands in many ways no longer conforms to present realities or meets the needs of the life of the state; thus, all-round revision is necessary. The Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China adopted last year by the Eleventh Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party at its Sixth Plenary Session and the documents adopted by the twelfth national party congress this year received support from the people of the whole country and provide a sound basis for revising the constitution.

We have for two years discussed and revised the present constitution conscientiously, carefully and meticulously. At the suggestion of the party Central Committee, the Fifth National People's Congress at its Third Plenary Session on September 10, 1980 decided to set up a Committee for Revision of the Constitution to be responsible for the work. After being set up, the committee and its secretariat solicited opinions widely from all localities, departments and quarters and closely studied them and, in February this year, submitted the draft of the revised constitution of the People's Republic of China for discussion. The committee at its second session spent nine days in discussing and revising the draft. Revisions were also proposed by members of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, by some members of the Standing Committee of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, by leaders of democratic parties and people's organizations, and by leading members of departments under the Chinese Communist Party's Central Committee, of departments under the State Council, of leading bodies of the People's Liberation Army and of provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities directly under the central government. The committee at its third session in April carried on a nine-day discussion on the draft and adopted it, which was made public by the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and submitted to the people of all nationalities in the country for discussion.

The extensive scale of the nationwide discussion, the vast number of participants and the wide impact demonstrate the surging political enthusiasm of the workers, peasants, intellectuals and other sections of the people in managing state affairs. Through the discussion and the exercise of democracy, the wisdom of the people has been pooled more effectively for revising the constitution. Such discussion was in fact an experience in national mass education in the legal system, and it has raised the consciousness of the cadres and the masses in abiding by the constitution and upholding

its dignity. The consensus is that the draft scientifically sums up the historical experience of development of socialism in China, that it reflects the common will and fundamental interests of the people of all nationalities, conforms to the situation in China and meets the needs of socialist modernization. During the nationwide discussion, many opinions and proposals of all kinds were put forward. The secretariat of the Committee for Revision of the Constitution made further revision of the draft in accordance with them. Many important and rational proposals were adopted. While the substance of the original draft remains unchanged, nearly 100 additions and amendments were made in regard to specific provisions, not including changes in wording. Other proposals, though good, were not incorporated because the conditions for giving them effect do not yet exist or the necessary experience is still lacking, or because it is more appropriate to include them in other laws and documents rather than in the fundamental law of the state. After article-by-article discussion for five days by the committee at its 4th session, the draft was approved after further revisions by the committee at its 5th session on November 23. It is now submitted to the National People's Congress for consideration.

What are the guidelines for the revision of the constitution?

The drafting was done under the overall guidance of the four cardinal principles, namely, adherence to the socialist road, to the people's democratic dictatorship, to leadership by the Communist Party of China, and to Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. These cardinal principles form the common political basis for the advance of the people of all our nationalities in unity and are the fundamental guarantee for the smooth progress of our socialist modernization.

The preamble of the draft reviews the history of the Chinese revolution in the past century and more. It points out that great and earth-shaking historical changes have taken place in China in the 20th century. Of these, four historical events are of the utmost importance. Apart from the revolution of 1911 which was led by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the three others all resulted from the efforts of the entire Chinese people led by the Communist Party of China with Chairman Mao Zedong as its leader. These three major events are: the overthrow of the rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism and the founding of the People's Republic of China; the elimination of the system of exploitation lasting for several thousand years and the establishment of the socialist system; and the forming, in the main, of an independent and fairly comprehensive system of industry and the development of socialist economy, politics and culture. The revolution of 1911 was of great historical importance, but it fell short of fulfilling the task of China's national-democratic revolution. The three later events have brought about a fundamental change in the destiny of the Chinese people and in our society and state. These great historical changes led the Chinese people to the fundamental conclusion: But for the Chinese Communist Party there would be no New China, and socialism and socialism alone can save China. The four cardinal principles are both a reflection of the law of historical development that is independent of human will and the decisive choice of the hundreds of millions of Chinese people in the course of long years of struggle.

With the establishment of the socialist system, China entered a new period of historical development. The basic characteristic of this new period is that exploiting classes have been eliminated as such and that class struggle is no longer the principal contradiction in Chinese society. This basic characteristic requires a substantial change in the focus of work of the state and in its guiding principles. To adhere to the four cardinal principles under the new historical conditions, it is imperative to integrate the universal truth of Marxism with the concrete practice of China's socialist construction and to blaze a path for socialist construction with distinctive Chinese features. We have scored great successes and also made many mistakes since we began exploring this correct path in the mid-1950s. Initiation and continuation of the "Cultural Revolution" constituted a grievous mistake. Of course it was not because we adhered to the four cardinal principles that we made mistakes but because we failed to implement them correctly. As for the sabotage by the

Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary cliques during the "Cultural Revolution", it was carried out under the banner of these principles, but constituted a complete betrayal of them. Overthrow of the two counter-revolutionary cliques and correction of the mistakes of the "Cultural Revolution" represent a triumph for these principles. Now we have set our guiding ideology to rights and formulated a correct programme for creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization. All this has enormous and far-reaching significance for the prosperity of our country. Bringing about this historic change has been a process of restoring the true features of the four cardinal principles and of adhering to them and developing them. These principles have been substantiated to a large degree in the new historical period and have acquired new and richer content.

A major strategic policy in setting things right has been the resolute shifting of the focus of the work of the state to socialist modernization of China's economy. This must be the focal point for all other work which should serve it. The consolidation of the state and the prosperity of our country, the stability and growth of Chinese society and the improvement of the people's material and cultural life will, in the final analysis, be determined by the expansion of production and the success of our modernization programme. We must from now on implement this strategic policy unswervingly unless there should be a massive invasion by the enemy. Even in that event, we must still carry on whatever economic development is required by the war and permitted by the actual situation. The recording of this policy in the constitution is entirely necessary. While stressing economic development as the focus of our work, we must pay full attention to building a socialist spiritual civilization and to developing socialist democracy. The draft of the revised constitution clearly stipulates in its preamble: "The basic task of the nation in the years to come is to concentrate its effort on socialist modernization" and "to modernize industry, agriculture, national defence and science and technology step by step to turn China into a socialist country with a high level of culture and democracy". The people of all our nationalities must work in concert to fulfil this great task.

The first constitution of the People's Republic of China, namely, the constitution of 1954, was a very good one. But at that time China had just begun socialist transformation and construction. Enormous changes have taken place in our country and society, so it is quite natural that the 1954 constitution no longer fully suits the current situation. The present draft maintains and develops the fundamental principles of the 1954 constitution, while incorporating a careful summary of the rich experience of China's socialist development and draws on international experience; it takes into account both the current situation and the prospects for development. Therefore, this session of the National People's Congress assuredly can enact a new constitution that is distinctively Chinese and meets the needs of our socialist modernization in the new historical period and that will remain valid for a long period of time.

Now I would like to give some explanations about the basic content of the draft of the revised constitution in conjunction with opinions and questions raised during the nationwide discussion.

1. Our State System, the People's Democratic Dictatorship

The first article of the draft revised constitution stipulates: "The People's Republic of China is a socialist state under the people's democratic dictatorship led by the working class and based on the alliance of workers and peasants." This defines the nature of our state and sets forth our state system.

Our people's democratic dictatorship is in essence a dictatorship of the proletariat. This is made explicit in the preamble of the draft. The dictatorship of the proletariat takes different forms in different countries, and the people's democratic dictatorship is a form created by the Chinese people under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party that suits the conditions and revolutionary traditions of our

country. The term the people's democratic dictatorship is used to define our state power in the common programme of 1949, in the constitution of 1954 and in the documents of the Eighth National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party held in 1956, and we continue this usage in the present draft. The working class is the leading class in our country. Although it comprises a minority of the entire population, it has the vast numbers of peasants as its steadfast ally, and an extremely broad united front led by the Communist Party has taken shape in the long years of revolution and construction. Our country is in a position to practise democracy among the greatest number of people while the targets of dictatorship are only a small number of persons. The people's democratic dictatorship is a formulation which accurately states the present condition of the classes in China and the broad basis of our political power, and it clearly shows the democratic nature of our state power.

The term the people's democratic dictatorship in the current draft is not to be taken as mere restoration of the formulation and its content in the 1954 constitution. The people's democratic dictatorship of the early years of the People's Republic corresponded to the circumstances and tasks of that transitional period when the chief task of the state power was to carry the new-democratic revolution to completion, proceed to the socialist transformation of the private ownership of the means of production, and bring about the transition from new democracy to socialism. With the establishment of the socialist system, however, the task of our state power under the people's democratic dictatorship became primarily to safeguard the socialist system and to guide and organize socialist construction. There has already been a significant change in the class composition of this political power. The working class is much bigger, having grown several fold in size, and carries greater weight in the political life of the state. With the socialist transformation, the vast numbers of peasants have changed from peasants engaged in individual farming to those engaged in collective farming. The number of intellectuals has also grown several fold. Taken as a whole, they have become part of the working class. The exploiting classes no longer exist as such; the overwhelming majority of their members have remoulded themselves and become working people earning their own living.

The workers, peasants and intellectuals constitute the three basic social forces in our socialist construction. Summarizing the views put forward in the nationwide discussion of the draft, we have added the following sentence to the preamble: "In building socialism it is imperative to rely on the workers, peasants and intellectuals and to unite with all the forces that can be united." Here, the intellectuals are placed on a par with the workers and peasants in terms of their mode of work. Then why does the first article of the draft not say "the alliance of workers, peasants and intellectuals"? That is because, under the socialist system, the difference between the intellectuals and the workers and peasants is not one between classes; as regards their relationship to ownership of the means of production, or class character, the intellectuals do not constitute a class distinct from the workers and peasants. The first article defines the nature of our state, that is, our state system, from the viewpoint of class relations. The formulation "based on the alliance of workers and peasants" includes the intellectuals.

The nature of our state as a people's democratic dictatorship determines that in China it is the people and the people alone who are the masters of the state and society. The draft explicitly stipulates: "All power in the People's Republic of China belongs to the people." This is the kernel of our state system and a fundamental principle governing it. The draft specifically stipulates: "The organs through which the people exercise state power are the National People's Congress and the local people's congresses at different levels. The people administer state affairs and manage the economic, cultural and social affairs through various channels and in various ways in accordance with the law." One billion people wielding the state power provides a reliable guarantee for safeguarding the fundamental interests of the people and ensuring that our state will be able to weather any storm.

The provisions on the fundamental rights and duties of citizens are an extension of the stipulated principles concerning the state system of the people's democratic dictatorship and the socialist social system in the chapter on general principles. Our state system and social system provide both legal and practical guarantees that our citizens enjoy extensive and genuine freedoms and rights. The draft has reinstated the provision in the 1954 constitution that all citizens are equal before the law. China's laws are drawn up by the whole nation under the leadership of the working class and are the concentrated expression of the will and interests of the people. All citizens are equal before such laws, which apply to all citizens equally; no citizen is allowed to enjoy the privilege of being above the constitution and the law. It is imperative to reinstate this provision, for it represents a basic principle that ensures the application of socialist democracy and legality. The right to vote and the right to stand for election are important indicators that the people exercise state power. Since the elimination of the exploiting classes, the number of people enjoying the right to vote and the right to stand for election in proportion to the total population has steadily grown. According to statistics from the 1981 direct elections at the county level throughout the country, 99.97 per cent of the citizens attaining the age of 18 enjoyed these rights. This fully demonstrates the broad scope of our socialist democracy. In the light of historical experience and the lessons of the "Cultural Revolution", the draft has, in its provisions on the fundamental rights of citizens, not only restored what was relevant in the 1954 constitution, but made it more specific and explicit and added new content. For example, there is the additional provision on the inviolability of the personal dignity of citizens, and there are more specific provisions than before on citizens' freedom of person and of religious belief, the inviolability of home, the protection of their freedom and privacy of correspondence by law and their right to criticize and make suggestions to any state organ or functionary and to make complaints and charges against, or exposures of, violation of the law or dereliction of duty by any state organ or functionary, and so on. The draft also stipulates relevant basic policies and measures to be adopted by the state to materialize and gradually extend citizens' rights.

Freedoms and rights with absolutely no restrictions have never existed in the world. As ours is a socialist country, the interests of the state and society are in basic accord with the citizens' personal interests. Only when the democratic rights and fundamental interests of the people as a whole are ensured and extended, will it be possible for the freedoms and rights of individual citizens to be effectively ensured and fully realized. Hence the draft stipulates: "The exercise by citizens of the People's Republic of China of their freedoms and rights may not infringe upon the interests of the state, of society and of the collective, or upon the lawful freedoms and rights of other citizens."

The draft stipulates: "Every citizen enjoys the rights and at the same time must perform the duties prescribed by the constitution and the law." In accordance with this fundamental principle, the draft specifies the duties of citizens to the state and society. Only when all observe and perform their fundamental duties as citizens, can they be sure of enjoying their civic rights as prescribed by the constitution.

Democracy among the people is one aspect of the people's democratic dictatorship; the other is dictatorship by the entire people over their enemies. After the elimination of the system of exploitation and the exploiting classes, the targets of this dictatorship are no longer complete reactionary classes, and the number of targets has dwindled. However, owing to certain domestic factors and foreign influences, class struggle will continue to exist within certain limits for a long time, and may even sharpen under certain conditions. Our people must still fight against those forces and elements at home and abroad that are hostile to China's socialist system and try to undermine it. Therefore, the function of the state as an instrument of dictatorship cannot be abolished at this time. Suppression of treasonable and other counter-revolutionary activities and striking at dangerous criminals who deliberately attempt to undermine and overthrow the socialist system in

the economic and other fields are both functions of the state in exercising dictatorship in accordance with the constitution and the law. It is imperative to uphold these functions in order to ensure successful implementation of the socialist modernization programme and safeguard and promote socialist democracy.

2. Our Socialist Economic System

The draft of the revised constitution truly reflects the fact that a socialist economic system has been established in our country and that it is growing ever stronger. It affirms socialist public ownership of the means of production as the basis of our socialist economic system.

Ownership by the whole people and collective ownership by the working people are the two forms of socialist public ownership in our country. The draft stipulates: "The state economy is the sector of socialist economy under ownership by the whole people; it is the leading force in the national economy." This is the decisive factor ensuring that the collective economy of the working people advances along the socialist road, that individual economy serves socialism and that the growth of the entire national economy conforms to the overall and long-term interests of the working people. The draft stipulates that, among the natural resources, all mineral resources and waters are owned by the state; and that all forests, mountains, grassland, unreclaimed land and beaches are owned by the state, except for those owned by collectives in accordance with the law. With the permission of the state, some natural resources owned by the state may within certain limits be allocated to collective economic organizations or even individuals for their use.

Collective ownership by the working people is the principal economic form in our countryside. It is suited to the present stage of development of our agricultural productive forces. Apart from the people's communes, agricultural producers' co-operatives and other forms of co-operative economy such as producers', supply and marketing, credit, and consumers' co-operatives exist and are growing in our rural areas. Even in the cities and towns, the state economy cannot run everything. The development of co-operative economy under collective ownership is suitable for a fairly big portion of handicrafts' industries, the building trade and transport, as well as commerce and service trades. The draft stipulates: "The state protects the lawful rights and interests of the urban and rural economic collectives and encourages, guides and helps the growth of the collective economy."

On the question of land ownership, the draft makes clear-cut stipulations proceeding from the realities in our country. Land in the cities is owned by the state. Land in the rural and suburban areas is owned by collectives except for those portions which belong to the state in accordance with the law. House sites and private plots of cropland and hilly land are for the long-term use of rural households but are not their private property. The state may in the public interest take over for its use in accordance with the law land owned by collectives. "No organization or individual may appropriate, buy, sell or lease land, or unlawfully transfer land in other ways." These provisions of principle are of great significance in ensuring our socialist economic development, and particularly in ensuring the socialist orientation in the growth of our agricultural economy. It should be explained here that in article 10 of the draft, land in the towns was originally put on a par with land in the rural and suburban areas. During the nationwide discussion, it was pointed out that conditions differ in various parts of the country and some towns of a fairly large scale will continue to grow and actually become small cities. That is why the provision about land in towns has been deleted. The question of land-ownership in towns can be dealt with in each case in the light of the actual situation.

It will be necessary for the individual economy of the working people to exist for a considerable period in urban and rural areas and to grow to a certain extent. The draft affirms that this individual economy, within the limits prescribed by law, is

a complement to the socialist public economy; the state protects the lawful rights and interests of the individual economy, and guides, helps and supervises it by means of administrative control. The draft also stipulates: "Working people who are members of rural economic collectives have the right, within the limits prescribed by law, to farm private plots of cropland and hilly land, engage in household sideline production and raise privately owned livestock."

In short, state economy, collective economy and individual economy all have advantages in different respects and are all indispensable, although they have different status and functions. The presence of individual economy, which occupies only a small part of the national economy, does not prevent socialist public ownership from being the foundation of our economic system or hamper the successful growth of public economy. Given the premise of upholding the leading position of the state economy, we must develop diverse economic forms so as to promote the prosperity of the whole national economy.

The establishment of socialist public ownership makes it objectively possible to eliminate anarchy in social production and to practise economic planning. The planned economy is the basic system of the socialist economy and an important hallmark of socialism's superiority over capitalism. Our national economy must be developed in a planned way, while our system of administration through planning must be adapted to the actual situation, that is, to the existence of diverse economic forms in our country and to the real level of our economic development. While specifying that "the state practises economic planning on the basis of the socialist public ownership", the draft stipulates that the state "ensures the proportionate and co-ordinated growth of the national economy through overall balancing by economic planning and the supplementary role of regulation by the market". That is to say, the state should put the production and circulation of essential goods under unified planning, consisting of mandatory and guidance planning. As for the enterprises producing goods which fall outside the unified plans, the state allows them the freedom to adjust production according to variations in market demand and supply. To ensure the proper functioning of the social economy and the authority of the state plan, the draft stipulates: "Disturbance of the orderly functioning of the social economy or disruption of the state economic plan by any organization or individual is prohibited."

The state in the past tended to exercise excessive and rigid control in planning. In view of this drawback, apart from the adoption of diverse forms of planning to suit different conditions, enterprises should be given varying degrees of decision-making power so as to combine unified leadership through state planning with initiative by the production units. The draft stipulates that "state enterprises have decision-making power in operation and management within the limits prescribed by law, on condition that they submit to unified leadership by the state and fulfil all their obligations under the state plan" and that "collective economic organizations have decision-making power in conducting independent economic activities, on condition that they accept the guidance of the state plan and abide by the relevant laws". Furthermore, the draft stipulates that the state must institute "the socialist system of responsibility in various forms". All this will be of great importance in enhancing the enthusiasm and initiative of production units and workers, invigorating the economy and pooling the knowledge and efforts of the people for socialist modernization.

With the establishment of socialist public ownership, the system of exploitation of man by man was abolished, and "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work" became a basic principle in our socialist economy. This is reaffirmed in the draft. The principle of "to each according to his work" is linked to that of "from each according to his ability". In applying the principle "to each according to his work", we must do ideological work among the workers while providing material benefits so that they will work for society to the best of their ability. Though conditions are still lacking to enable everyone to develop his talent in an all-round

way, the nature of work in our socialist society has fundamentally changed compared with that in a society under an exploitative system. The draft stipulates: "All working people in state enterprises and in urban and rural economic collectives should perform their tasks with an attitude consonant with their status as masters of the country." On its part, society, in which work is planned and organized, should see to it that the workers are paid according to the quantity and quality of their work and that all possible conditions are created for them to develop their talent.

Our economy is rather backward. To change this situation and build China into a modern socialist country as quickly as possible, it is imperative to give full play to the superiority of the socialist system, fully mobilize the broad masses of the people, rely on our own efforts and work hard. Furthermore, as China has a vast territory, its economic, technological and cultural development is very uneven between different regions, departments and enterprises. Our socialist economy must be guided by principles and have flexibility, must be both unified and diversified. This will help bring into full play the enthusiasm of the localities, departments, enterprises and workers under the centralized and unified leadership of the central authorities and suit our measures to differing conditions in terms of locality, time, issue and persons involved, so that both human and material resources, including land, are turned to best account and a free flow of goods is achieved. It is in this spirit that the articles on the economy are formulated. The present restructuring of our economic systems has already brought significant results, and it will be continued in a comprehensive and deep-going way. The relevant provisions of the draft lay down the principles for this work. Proceeding along these lines, we can assuredly build and develop a socialist economy with distinctive Chinese features so as to turn China into a rich and powerful country step by step.

3. Socialist Spiritual Civilization

The Chinese people have the fundamental task of striving to build a high level of socialist spiritual civilization while working for a high level of material civilization in building socialism. The addition of articles on socialist spiritual civilization marks an important step forward in the revision of the constitution.

With regard to the cultural aspect of building a socialist spiritual civilization, the chapter on general principles in the draft, in accordance with opinions expressed in the nationwide discussion, devotes an article each to education, to science, to public health and physical culture and to culture. This carries more weight than the composite article contained in the original draft and also enriches the content.

The expansion of education includes both making it universal and improving its standards so as to raise the educational level of the workers, peasants and cadres, to increase the number of intellectuals and to train specialized personnel in all fields. This is the foundation for the growth of science and culture as a whole and a condition for raising the people's political consciousness; it is also an indispensable prerequisite for developing material civilization. Citizens have the duty as well as the right to receive education, which includes compulsory primary education for school-age children, proper types of political, cultural, scientific, technical and professional education for working adults and pre-employment vocational training. The general cultural level in China is rather low. A more rapid growth of education calls for both regular schooling and spare-time education in various forms. The state will allocate adequate resources for educational purposes and at the same time encourage all social forces, including economic collectives, state enterprises and undertakings, public organizations and individuals who have the approval of the state to run educational facilities in various forms and with mass support. Modernization of science and technology is a key link in our four modernizations. The development of the natural and social sciences, research in basic and applied sciences, and the dissemination of scientific and technological knowledge are of paramount importance for socialist construction. Obviously public health and physical culture undertakings are important in protecting the people's health,

building up their physique and raising their efficiency in work and study. Literature and art, the press, publishing and other cultural undertakings are also essential for enriching and improving the people's cultural life. The development of all these undertakings, however, cannot rely solely on the resources of the state; efforts by all social forces and wide-ranging activities of a mass character will be needed. These principles and requirements are incorporated in the relevant articles of the draft.

The policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend" is not included in the articles on cultural work. This was based on the following considerations: First, the draft already includes among the fundamental rights of citizens freedom of speech and of the press, and freedom to engage in scientific research, literary and artistic creation and other cultural pursuits, that is, the substance of the policy is embodied in legal terms and, moreover, is given a broader interpretation. Second, apart from this policy, there are other basic policies governing work in science and culture, and it is unnecessary and impossible to write them all into the constitution. Of course, there is no doubt that "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend" remains one of the basic principles guiding our scientific and cultural work and that it must be firmly implemented to make socialist science and culture flourish.

With regard to the ideological aspect of building socialist spiritual civilization, it must be noted, first of all, that Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought is our fundamental guiding ideology. This is expressed in the preamble as one of the four cardinal principles.

Article 24 of the draft stipulates: "The state strengthens the building of socialist spiritual civilization through spreading education in high ideals and morality, general education and education in discipline and the legal system, and through promoting the formulation and observance of rules of conduct and common pledges by different sections of the people in urban and rural areas." This means that efforts must be made to imbue more and more citizens with high ideals, moral integrity, general education, and a sense of discipline so that a new standard of social morality is fostered and our nation acquires a revolutionary and vigorous mental outlook.

The same article also stipulates: "The state advocates the civic virtues of love for the motherland, for the people, for labour, for science and for socialism." This has been developed on the basis of the five requirements (love of the motherland, the people, labour and science, and care of public property) defining civic virtues in the common programme adopted in the early years of the People's Republic. These five requirements were explicit and plain. They proved to be useful in educating the masses of people and left a deep impression on them. In the conditions prevailing then, it was not yet opportune to put forward "love for socialism" as a requirement in the common programme. Today, it has become a matter of course to include it, and so it replaces "care of public property" in the original five requirements. Love for socialism is not an abstract idea. The care of public property is an important part of it.

Article 24 also calls for ideological education in communism among the people. Communist ideology is the heart of socialist spiritual civilization. In the period of the new-democratic revolution, Comrade Mao Zedong already pointed out clearly: "So far as the orientation of our national culture is concerned, communist ideology plays the guiding role." Now that we have established the socialist system, we should and can strengthen nationwide education in communism among cadres and the people, with everyone taking part. Only in this way will it be possible to keep the socialist orientation in our modernization drive and to ensure that our social development keeps heading for the correct goal and retains its ethical motivation. Education in communist ideology should take the form of helping a growing number of citizens acquire a dialectical and historical materialist world outlook and the work

ethic of serving the people wholeheartedly, and integrate personal with collective and national interests, integrate immediate with long-term interests, and subordinate immediate personal interests to long-term common interests. Such education, of course, does not mean skipping a stage of historical development and pushing an economic and social system that can be realized only at a higher stage, the stage of communism with its highly developed productive forces. On the contrary, it must be in line with socialist principles such as "to each according to his work" and clear-cut economic responsibility to which we firmly adhere in our economic and social life at the present stage. Only under the guidance of such ideological education can socialist principles and policies be implemented fully and correctly.

Another provision in the same article is that the state "combats capitalist, feudalist and other decadent ideas", which sets the fighting task on the ideological front. Historical and practical reasons as well as domestic factors and the international environment make this fighting task protracted, and we should in no way relax our efforts.

Here I would like to make one further point: The requirements for building socialist spiritual civilization are in fact implied in many of the articles in the draft on the fundamental rights and duties of citizens. In our socialist country, ideological education, public opinion, standards of social conduct and the law are interrelated. Our constitution provides for the rights of citizens and at the same time requires that they raise their consciousness as masters of the country and society and safeguard and exercise their rights in a correct manner. Safeguarding one's own rights and respecting those of others are inseparable. This requires that every citizen should safeguard the interests of the state, society and the collective and respect the freedoms and rights of others while safeguarding his own rights. The duties of citizens stipulated in the constitution are legally obligatory. But it is more important that, as the country's masters, citizens should enhance their sense of responsibility to the state, to society and to other citizens and conscientiously perform their duties, including those of safeguarding the socialist system and the unity of the country and of all our nationalities, safeguarding the security, honour and interests of the motherland, observing the constitution, the law, discipline and public order, and taking care of public property. In order to build socialist spiritual civilization in the whole society, it is important that all citizens raise such consciousness and sense of responsibility, handle their relations with the state and society and with other citizens on the principles of socialism and collectivism, cultivate a recognition of their rights and duties and a sense of organization and discipline consonant with the socialist political system, and acquire awareness as socialist citizens.

4. The Structure of the State

The draft of the revised constitution stipulates that "the state organs of the People's Republic of China apply the principle of democratic centralism". In the light of this principle and the experience we have gained over the last thirty and more years in the building of state power, a number of new and important provisions about the state structure have been incorporated into the draft. They mainly deal with the following aspects:

(1) Strengthening the system of people's congresses. Some of the functions and powers which originally belonged to the National People's Congress are now delegated to its Standing Committee. The functions and powers of the Standing Committee have been expanded, and the committee has been strengthened organizationally. Both the National People's Congress and its Standing Committee exercise the legislative power of the state; while the basic statutes are enacted by the former, other statutes are enacted by the latter. Members of the N.P.C. Standing Committee may not hold posts in any of the administrative, judicial and procuratorial organs of the state, which means that a considerable number of them devote their full time to this work. The work of the National People's Congress is strengthened by the establishment of

special committees to examine, discuss and draw up relevant bills or draft resolutions under the direction of the National People's Congress and its Standing Committee.

(2) Restoring the posts of president and vice-president of the People's Republic. (Previously translated as chairman and vice-chairman of the People's Republic -- translator's note.) Practice since the founding of the People's Republic proves that these posts are necessary for a sound state system and are better suited to the custom and desire of our people of all nationalities.

(3) Establishing the state Central Military Commission to direct the armed forces of the country. The chairman of the Central Military Commission exercises overall responsibility for the commission. He is elected by the National People's Congress and is responsible to it and its Standing Committee. The People's Liberation Army, created and led by the Chinese Communist Party, has been the national army since the founding of the People's Republic. On the basis of summing up the historical experience since the founding of the People's Republic and in accordance with the actual conditions and needs of our country, the draft properly defines the position of the armed forces in the state system. The leadership by the Chinese Communist Party over the armed forces will not change with the establishment of the state Central Military Commission. The party's leading role in the life of the state, which is explicitly affirmed in the preamble, naturally includes its leadership over the armed forces.

(4) The premier exercises overall responsibility for the State Council; executive meetings of the State Council are composed of the premier, vice-premiers, state councillors and secretary-general of the State Council; the premier convenes and presides over executive and plenary meetings of the State Council. The ministers exercise overall responsibility for the respective ministries or commissions under their charge; the ministers convene and preside over executive meetings or commission meetings of the ministries or commissions under their charge.

In order to strengthen supervision over finances and financial and accounting activities, the State Council newly establishes an auditing body which will independently exercise its power to supervise through auditing in accordance with the law. Local governments at different levels also establish auditing bodies correspondingly.

(5) Strengthening the building of the local organs of state power under the unified leadership of the central authorities. The local people's congresses at and above the county level establish their standing committees. The people's congresses of the provinces and municipalities directly under the central government and their standing committees have the power to adopt and issue local regulations. Local people's governments at different levels practise the system of overall responsibility by governors, mayors, county heads, district heads, township heads and town heads. These provisions apply to the organs of self-government of national autonomous areas as well.

(6) Changing the system of the rural people's commune which combines government administration and economic management and establishing organs of state power at the township level. The people's commune will be solely an organizational form of the rural collective economy. This change will serve to strengthen the organs of state power at the grassroots level in the rural areas and also to expand the collective economy. As for the concrete step to separate government administration from economic management, this calls for meticulous efforts, and the authorities in different localities should, in the light of the actual local conditions, conduct the work under leadership, step by step and in a planned way, refraining from rashness.

The status and role of self-governing mass organizations such as residents' committees and villagers' committees, which have long proved to be effective, are written into the constitution.

(7) It is stipulated that state leaders, including the president and vice-president of the People's Republic, the chairman and vice-chairmen of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and the premier and vice-premiers of the State Council, shall serve no more than two consecutive terms. Thus, the de facto system of life-long tenure of leading posts is abolished.

Now, I would like to explain in particular the intentions of the above provisions and the requirements embodied in them.

First, to enable the whole people to exercise state power better.

Any reform of our political institutions and establishment of state organs should be aimed at ensuring politically and organizationally that the whole people wield state power and are real masters of the country. According to this principle, the main thing to do at the level of the central authorities is to strengthen the National People's Congress. As China is a big and populous country, the number of deputies to the National People's Congress should not be too small; but too large a number will make its regular work cumbersome. The Standing Committee is the permanent body of the National People's Congress, and all those on the committee can be described as executive deputies to the congress. Being few in number, they can meet frequently and carry a heavy load of legislation and day-to-day work. Therefore, appropriate extension of the functions and powers of the Standing Committee is an effective way to strengthen the system of the people's congress. At the local levels, the main thing to do is to broaden the democratic basis of organs of state power at different levels (including those at the grass-roots level) and, at the same time, extend their functions and powers appropriately so that, under unified central leadership, the localities may carry out their own development plans in the light of their own conditions. The mass organizations of self-management in grass-roots community life ought to be strengthened so that the people are mobilized to manage their own public affairs and social services. Putting these provisions into practice will develop socialist democracy in China more fully.

During the nationwide discussion, it was suggested that, while extending the functions and powers of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, we should fully ensure the status of the National People's Congress as the highest organ of state power. This opinion is correct. Therefore, the qualifying clause "provided that they do not contravene the basic principles of these statutes" is added to the third item of the functions and powers of the Standing Committee contained in article 67 of the draft, which originally says that it may introduce, when the National People's Congress is not in session, partial supplements and amendments to the statutes enacted by the National People's Congress. Besides, an item -- the 11th -- which reads, "to alter or annul inappropriate decisions of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress", is added to article 62 which stipulates the functions and powers of the National People's Congress.

Second, to enable the state organs to guide and organize the work of socialist construction more effectively.

State organs should be established and their functions and powers defined in the following spirit: Organs of state power, namely, the National People's Congress and the local people's congresses, should fully discuss the formulation of laws and policies on major issues and decide on them through democratic procedures so that they truly concentrate the will and represent the interests of the people; and there must be a strict system of responsibility in implementing laws and major policy decisions so as to raise efficiency. The system of responsibility is indispensable in developing socialist democracy and ensuring that the people exercise state power. The will of the people can be carried out only when the decisions they have made through the organs of state power are implemented promptly and effectively by the administrative organs.

Third, to enable the different state organs to co-operate with one another better on the basis of a proper division of labour.

Under the socialist system, there is a community of fundamental interests of the whole people. Therefore, the people's congresses can and must exercise state power in a unified way. Given this premise, there should at the same time be a clear division of power among the administrative, judicial and procuratorial authorities and leadership over the armed forces so that the organs of state power and the other state organs, administrative, judicial and procuratorial, may work in concert and harmony. The president of the People's Republic, the State Council, the Central Military Commission, the Supreme People's Court and the Supreme People's Procuratorate are all elected or created by the National People's Congress, and they are all responsible to it and subject to its supervision. The National People's Congress, the president of the People's Republic and other state organs all work within the scope of their respective functions and powers. The rational division of labour among state organs can avoid over-concentration of power and at the same time serve to enhance the efficiency of work by the state in all fields.

At present, the work of restructuring the state organs is going on in our country. The provisions of the draft on the state structure give expression to the principles and results in this respect and will serve to push the work further ahead.

5. Unity of the Country and Unity of All the Nationalities

The history of the thirty and more years since the founding of the People's Republic shows that the unity of the country and the unity of all our nationalities achieved so far are of tremendous importance for the advance of our socialist cause and the well-being of the whole Chinese nation. Just as Comrade Mao Zedong put it: "The unification of our country, the unity of our people and the unity of our various nationalities -- these are the basic guarantees of the sure triumph of our cause."

At present, reunification of our great motherland is not yet complete, and we must strive to accomplish it. The preamble of the draft states: "Taiwan is part of the sacred territory of the People's Republic of China. It is the lofty duty of the entire Chinese people, including our compatriots in Taiwan, to accomplish the great task of reunifying the motherland." The separation of Taiwan from the motherland in the last three decades and more is absolutely contrary to the interests of our nation and the wishes of our people. An early end to this separation will be highly conducive to the prosperity of the Taiwan region and our motherland as a whole, and to the maintenance of peace in the Far East and in the whole world. It is an inevitable trend in accord with the desires of the people, a trend which no party, political force or individual can resist. It is an internal affair of China, which brooks no interference by any foreign country. On the eve of the National Day last year, Comrade Ye Jianying, chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, pointed out in a statement that, after peaceful reunification, Taiwan can enjoy a high degree of autonomy as a special administrative region. This autonomy means, among other things, that the current social and economic systems in Taiwan, its way of life and its economic and cultural relations with foreign countries will remain unchanged. Considering the needs of this particular situation, article 31 of the draft stipulates: "The state may establish special administrative regions when necessary. The systems to be instituted in special administrative regions shall be prescribed by law enacted by the National People's Congress in the light of the specific conditions." We are absolutely unequivocal on the principle of safeguarding China's sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity. At the same time, we are highly flexible as regards specific policies and measures and will give full consideration to the concrete situation in the Taiwan region and the wishes of the people in Taiwan and those of all personages concerned. This is our basic position in handling problems of a similar kind.

It is a basic principle followed by the Communist Party of China and the state to work for the equality, unity and common prosperity of all our nationalities. We have scored tremendous success in this respect in the thirty and more years since the founding of the People's Republic. But we also committed "left" mistakes during this period, especially during the "Cultural Revolution", when the policies of the party and the state on nationality affairs were distorted and undermined, and many cadres and ordinary folk of minority nationalities were made to suffer. This is a serious lesson. In revising the constitution this time, we have paid full attention to summing up the historical experience in this respect and drawn on the important results of setting things to rights in our work among the minority nationalities in recent years.

The preamble of the draft points out: "In the struggle to safeguard the unity of the nationalities, it is necessary to combat big-nation chauvinism, mainly Han chauvinism, and also necessary to combat local-national chauvinism." This is because both are harmful to the unity of our nationalities. Combating big-nation chauvinism chiefly means combating it among the people of Han nationality. This is determined by the fact that the Han nationality makes up for the overwhelming majority of China's population and exerts the greatest influence on the political, economic and cultural life of the country. Comrades of Han nationality should be highly conscientious and mindful in guarding against and overcoming big-Han chauvinism. Like combating big-nation chauvinism, combating local-national chauvinism is also necessary to guarantee unity among all our nationalities. However, the mistake of grievously broadening the scope of struggle in this regard was committed in the past: First, many comrades not guilty of local-national chauvinism were wrongly accused; secondly, ideological mistakes were wrongly dealt with as contradictions between ourselves and the enemy. Like big-nation chauvinism, local-national chauvinism is a matter of wrong thinking and understanding which belongs to the category of contradictions among the people, except in cases of those who engage in rebellious and secessionist activities in collaboration with foreign quarters. Big-nation chauvinism and local-national chauvinism should be combated in a correct way, mainly through ideological education and adoption of necessary political, economic and cultural measures.

The system of autonomy in regions inhabited by minority nationalities is a correct system which proves suited to our country's conditions through the test of practice. China is a unitary multi-national country jointly created by all our nationalities. Suffering in common from imperialist aggression before liberation, the Han people and the people of minority nationalities forged close ties of mutual help in times of dire need. After the founding of the People's Republic, all our nationalities established a close political, economic and cultural relationship of interdependence and mutual assistance while advancing along the common road of socialism. Regional national autonomy within a unified country not only can ensure the lawful rights and interests of the minority nationalities and speed up the economic and cultural development of the areas they inhabit, but also serve to resist aggression and subversion from outside and guarantee the independence and prosperity of the country as a whole. That is why the draft stipulates that "all the national autonomous areas are inalienable parts of the People's Republic of China", and that "it is the duty of citizens of the People's Republic of China to safeguard the unity of the country and the unity of all its nationalities". This fully accords with the fundamental interests and common will of all our nationalities.

The provisions on regional national autonomy have restored some important principles contained in the 1954 constitution and, moreover, acquired new content in keeping with the changes which have taken place in our country. It is stipulated in section VI, "The Organs of Self-Government of National Autonomous Areas", in the chapter on the structure of the state that the chairmanship and vice-chairmanships of the standing committee of the people's congress of any national autonomous area shall include a citizen or citizens of the nationality or nationalities exercising regional autonomy in the area concerned; that the administrative head of an autonomous region, prefecture or county shall be a citizen of the nationality, or of one of the

nationalities, exercising regional autonomy in the area concerned; and that organs of self-government independently arrange for and administer local economic development under the guidance of state plans and independently administer educational, scientific, cultural, public health and physical culture affairs in their areas. It is also stipulated that, in exploiting natural resources and building enterprises in the national autonomous areas, the state shall give due consideration to the interests of those areas; that the state shall give financial, material and technical assistance to the minority nationalities to accelerate their economic and cultural development and help the national autonomous areas train large numbers of cadres at different levels and specialized personnel and skilled workers of different professions and trades from among the nationality or nationalities in those areas. The provisions in the draft on the right of autonomy of the national autonomous areas show that the state fully respects and ensures the democratic right of the minority nationalities to manage their internal affairs.

6. Independent Foreign Policy

The preamble of the draft lays down the basic principles of China's foreign policy. They are: independence; development of diplomatic relations and economic and cultural exchanges with other countries on the basis of the five principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit and peaceful coexistence; opposing imperialism, hegemonism and colonialism, strengthening unity with the people of other countries, supporting the oppressed nations and developing countries in their just struggle to win and preserve national independence and develop their national economies, and striving to safeguard world peace and promote the cause of human progress.

Our adherence to these principles of foreign policy is dictated by the nature of our state and our social system. Having suffered for a century before the founding of the People's Republic, the Chinese people know full well that without national independence, the people of a country have no possibility to enjoy democratic rights and build a prosperous and powerful country. From their experience in the long years of revolution and construction, the Chinese people are deeply aware that their own future is closely bound up with that of the people of the world. The establishment of the socialist system has rooted out the social causes both of China's submission to any foreign oppression and of any possibility of China committing aggression abroad in any form. The world today is in the throes of intense turbulence, and this turbulent situation will not end so long as imperialism and hegemonism exist in the world. No matter what happens outside China, we will adhere to the policy of independence. As Comrade Deng Xiaoping said at the Twelfth National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party: "No foreign country can expect China to be its vassal, nor can it expect China to swallow any bitter fruit harmful to China's interests." We will also persist in treating all countries, big or small, as equals and consistently stand on the side of all oppressed nations and developing countries as well as all other countries and people working for world peace. China will never seek hegemony and will never allow any hegemonists to ride on its back.

Our country follows the policy of opening to the outside world on the premise of independence and will continue to do so in the days to come. China will continue to expand its economic, technical and cultural exchanges with other countries on the principle of equality and mutual benefit. The draft stipulates that foreign economic organizations and individual foreigners may invest in China and enter into economic co-operation with Chinese economic organizations. Of course, all foreign economic organizations in China must abide by the law of the People's Republic of China, and their lawful rights and interests will be protected by the law of the People's Republic of China.

In accordance with international practice, China protects the legitimate rights and interests of Chinese nationals residing abroad, and at the same time, calls on them to

abide by the law of the country in which they reside and to live in harmony with the people of that country. China protects the lawful rights and interests of foreigners residing in China and, at the same time, requires that they abide by the law of the People's Republic of China. These are all set forth in the draft.

The Chinese people have waged protracted and arduous struggles to win and safeguard their national independence. Our foreign policy represents the fundamental interests of the Chinese people and accords with those of the people of the world. The draft stipulates that the state shall educate the people both in patriotism and in internationalism. The Chinese people's tradition of patriotism and internationalism must be handed down from generation to generation. This is the basic guarantee for adhering to our independent foreign policy.

Fellow deputies, after its discussion and formal adoption by the current session of the National People's Congress, the draft revised constitution will go into operation as the fundamental law of the state with supreme authority and legal force. It will be the general statute for China's good administration and stability in the new historical period. We are convinced that the new constitution will be strictly observed and implemented. Summing up both the positive and negative historical experience in formulating and implementing the constitutions since the founding of the People's Republic, the preamble of the draft clearly states that: "The people of all nationalities, all state organs, the armed forces, all political parties and public organizations and all enterprises and undertakings in the country must take the constitution as the basic norm of conduct, and they have the duty to uphold the dignity of the constitution and ensure its implementation."

Both the National People's Congress and its Standing Committee have the function and power of supervising the enforcement of the constitution; the local people's congresses at different levels should ensure the observance and implementation of the constitution in their respective administrative areas. In his report to the Twelfth National Congress of the Communist Party of China, Comrade Hu Yaobang solemnly declared: "In particular, party members should be educated and urged to take the lead in observing the constitution and laws. The stipulation in the new party constitution that 'the party must conduct its activities within the limits permitted by the constitution and laws of the state' embodies a most important principle. It is impermissible for any party organization or member, from the Central Committee down to the grass roots, to act in contravention of the constitution and laws." The Chinese people and the Communist Party of China fully recognize that the authority of the constitution concerns the political stability and the future of our country, and that it is absolutely impermissible to undermine the constitution in any way. All power in our country belongs to the people. The destiny of our country is in the hands of the awakened people. The Communist Party of China is the political party of the working class that represents the interests of the Chinese people and acts on their will. It has no interests of its own apart from the interests of the people. The Chinese Communist Party has attached great importance to the revision of the constitution, on which the Political Bureau and the Secretariat of its Central Committee conducted special discussions. Most of the members of the Political Bureau and the Secretariat are concurrently members of the Committee for Revision of the Constitution, and the opinions of the party Central Committee have found full expression in the draft. Having led the people in formulating the new constitution, the Chinese Communist Party will uphold the dignity of the constitution and ensure its implementation together with the people of all our nationalities and the democratic parties and people's organizations. After the constitution is adopted, it is necessary to give the constitution wide publicity by various means so that it will be made known to every household. When our one billion people all cultivate the consciousness and habit of observing and upholding the constitution and fight against all acts violating and undermining the constitution, this will become a mighty force. With efforts by all the people and the Chinese Communist Party to ensure its implementation, the new constitution that embodies the will of the people and the correct propositions of the Chinese Communist Party is bound to play a great role in promoting the success of China's socialist modernization.

Hebei Deputies on Constitution

OW051802 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1801 GMT 1 Dec 82

[Excerpts] Beijing, 1 Dec (XINHUA) -- The Hebei provincial delegation to the Fifth Session of the Fifth NPC held group meetings in the past few days to discuss the draft revised constitution. The deputies held earnest and in-depth discussion on the role and meaning of the constitution and how to implement it.

Huang Hua, NPC deputy and state councillor, said: The draft revised constitution scientifically sums up China's historical experience and, after its adoption by the current NPC session, will become the country's fundamental law with the supreme authority and legal force and will be the general statute for running the country and keeping its stability in the new historical period. The new constitution will play a great role in promoting both the construction and an independent foreign policy of our country.

Liu Bingyan, NPC deputy, secretary of the provincial CPC committee and acting governor, said: The new constitution is to be adopted at an important time when the 12th CPC National Congress has just put forward the gigantic goal of quadrupling China's economic output value by the end of this century. The new constitution prescribes, in the form of fundamental law, a series of regulations concerning economic construction, culture, education, science, technology and other activities, thereby providing reliable guarantees for the realization of this gigantic goal.

Pan Chengxiao, NPC deputy and vice chairman of the provincial people's congress standing committee, suggested that various means be used in propagating the constitution and incorporating the education on the constitution into middle and primary school textbooks. Party and government cadres at various levels should take the lead in studying and safeguarding the constitution. People's congresses and their standing committees at various levels should consciously supervise the implementation of the constitution by the government.

Zhejiang's Tie Ying Comments

OW060031 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1748 GMT 1 Dec 82

[Excerpts] Beijing, 30 Nov (XINHUA) -- The deputies from Zhejiang attending the Fifth Session of the Fifth National People's Congress examined and discussed the draft of the revised constitution from 27 to 30 November. After discussion, deputies unanimously believed: The draft revised constitution reflects the common aspirations and basic interests of all the people in the country. It is the best constitution since the founding of the nation.

Tie Ying, NPC deputy and first secretary of the provincial CPC committee, emphatically pointed out the significance of the provisions in the draft revised constitution on population, land, environmental protection and so on. He said: Land protection, family planning, the protection of the environment and ecological balance are major issues affecting economic construction and the people's livelihood. They are included in our state policy. So far as Zhejiang is concerned, the current economic situation is fine. However, there remain potential dangers. They are population growth, the reduction of arable land and environmental pollution.

He said: All these problems are major ones which would affect our own destiny. We must not ignore them. We must carry out education extensively among the masses of cadres and people on our state policy regarding population and land, strictly enforce family planning, and do a good job in protecting land and the environment.

Deputies also expressed their determination to play their exemplary role well in earnestly studying, popularizing and implementing the new constitution and to safeguard the dignity of the constitution after it is adopted by the NPC session.

Yunnan's An Pingsheng

HK040241 Kuming Yunnan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 3 Dec 82

[Text] According to XINHUA, the Fifth Session of the Fifth NPC started panel discussions on 2 December on Premier Zhao Ziyang's report on the Sixth 5-Year Plan. The meetings were imbued with liveliness and enthusiasm, with the deputies in high spirits. Deputies from all fronts and areas were greatly encouraged when studying the Sixth 5-Year Plan and full of confidence in accomplishing the strategic goal put forward by the 12th party congress.

They stressed: The Sixth 5-Year Plan comes from the great practice of the masses. It has a fully scientific basis and its measures accord with reality. It has a solid mass foundation. Under the guarantee of the new construction, with the people of all nationalities throughout the country uniting as one and working hard, the blueprint of the Sixth 5-Year Plan will be translated into brilliant reality.

Yunnan deputy An Pingsheng said: I have been greatly encouraged by listening to Premier Zhao Ziyang's report on the Sixth 5-Year Plan. In particular, when the current world economy is in a poor way, China's economy is actually prospering daily. Not only we have seen this point; farsighted people throughout the world have perceived it too. The 12th party congress has formulated a vast goal of endeavor for us, while the current NPC session will adopt the new constitution and the report on the Sixth 5-Year Plan. This is bound to greatly encourage the people of all nationalities throughout the country.

Comrade An Pingsheng said: The Sixth 5-Year Plan covers the first 5 years in accomplishing the great goal forward by the 12th party congress. Viewing the results in the previous 2 years, the growth of industrial and agricultural production has exceeded the annual growth rate stipulated by the Sixth 5-Year Plan. In common with the whole country, Yunnan's situation has been very good during these 2 years. The province's total industrial and agricultural output value in 1980 set a record, and an increase of 8.1 percent was recorded in 1981. The figure for this year is estimated to show a rise of more than 9 percent over 1981. Economic returns are also improving all the time.

Comrade An Pingsheng said: We recently convened an enlarged meeting of the provincial CPC committee to implement the 12th party congress spirit. The cadres and masses of all nationalities in Yunnan are in very high spirits. We will organize a mass discussion in the province to thoroughly implement the Sixth 5-Year Plan and the goal of endeavor set by the 12th party congress, we must be earnest and down-to-earth, work steadily and make solid progress, and do a good job in all our work.

Guangxi's Qiao Xiaoguang

HK040352 Beijing ZHONGGUO XINWEN SHE in Chinese 1129 GMT 3 Dec 82

[Text] Beijing, 3 Dec (ZHONGGUO XINWEN SHE) -- Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Regional CPC Committee First Secretary Qiao Xiaoguang said at a panel discussion at the NPC session on 2 December: By the year 2000, Guangxi's total industrial output value will be quintupled while its total agricultural output value will be tripled; put together, total value of industrial and agricultural output will thus grow by 340 percent to reach over 68 billion yuan, at an annual growth rate of 8 percent.

He said: This growth rate leaves a margin, because according to the calculations of departments concerned, total value of industrial and agricultural output might reach more than 80 billion yuan; and as far as agriculture is concerned, tripling is calculated purely from agriculture, and if processing industries and commune and brigade industry and commerce are counted also, then quadrupling could be achieved.

Qiao Xiaoguang said: Guangxi should advance in 2 stages in achieving the 20-year goal of endeavor. In the first 10 years, that is by 1990, total industrial and agriculture output value should reach some 27 billion yuan, including an increase of slightly more than 200 percent in industry, to reach some 16 billion yuan, by rising at an annual average of 7 percent; and total agricultural output value should reach some 11 billion yuan, rising at an annual average of 5 percent.

As for the plans for the current 5 years, by 1985 total industrial and agricultural output value should rise to 19 billion yuan, an increase of 30 percent over 1980, growing at an annual average of 5.5 percent. This includes an increase in total industrial output value to 10.5 billion yuan, rising at an annual average of 6 percent, and an increase in total agricultural output value to 8.6 billion yuan, rising at an annual average of 4.5 percent.

Qiao Xiaoguang pointed out: There is a scientific basis for the above-mentioned 20-year scheme and the plan for the current 5 years, which can certainly be accomplished. The basis consists of three main factors: 1) The region achieved a similar growth rate in the past 15 years. This was despite the unfavorable fact that we pursued a closed-door policy, were influenced by "leftism" in guiding ideology and organized single-product economy in agriculture. Since agriculture and industry were able to develop to this extent then, they will certainly be able to develop at a still faster rate over the next 20 years, with conditions in all aspects very favorable. 2) The region could more than double its total industrial output value merely by carrying out technical improvements in the existing enterprises. 3) The future increase in investment in fixed assets will stimulate relatively fast growth rate in industrial and agricultural production. The key projects arranged by the state in Guangxi in the next 20 years include the Hongshui River stepped powerplants, the exploitation of non-ferrous metals, and construction of the Nanning-Fangcheng and Nanning-Kunming railroads. Investment in these projects, plus locally-raised funds and loans and the use of foreign investment, will total several tens of billions of yuan.

Speaking on current work, Qiao Xiaoguang said, we should concentrate on tackling the following issues:

1. Solve the investment problem by making use of a variety of channels. First, we should strive to get more state investment in view of the facts that the region possesses abundant water conservation, non-ferrous metal and building materials resources, and the stepped powerplants at Tianshengqiao, Yantan, Longtan and Datengxia on the Hongshui River, the Dachang tin mine, the Pingguo lead mine, and the Nanning-Fangcheng and Nanning-Kunming railroads are key state projects. Secondly, we should increase our financial revenue by working hard to develop production and improve economic returns. Thirdly, we should mobilize and raise various funds in society, including investment from various departments, enterprises, municipalities, counties, communes, and brigades, right down to individuals, and use it in an appropriate way through various channels. Fourthly, we should make use of foreign investment. In accordance with the central principles and policies, under the premise of preserving national sovereignty and having the capacity to repay, we should strive to use more foreign investment to organize joint ventures, compensation trade and so on, or to import advanced technology and equipment for improving existing enterprises and raising their economic returns. Fifthly, we should actively promote various kinds of economic and technical cooperation with fraternal provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions.

2. Vigorously develop the processing and comprehensive utilization of agricultural and sideline products.

3. Further enliven the economy, under guidance by state plans.

4. Vigorously promote the production of meat and vegetables and strive for a fundamental turn for the better in meat and vegetable supply for urban and industrial areas within 3 years.
5. Strictly control population growth.

Shaanxi's Ma Wenrui Comments

OW051754 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1435 GMT 29 Nov 82

[Excerpts] Beijing, 29 Nov (XINHUA) -- Speaking at the NPC panel discussion on the draft revised constitution, Ma Wenrui, NPC deputy and first secretary of the Shaanxi Provincial CPC Committee, said that the draft revised constitution has pooled the wisdom of the people and received the broadest support of the masses.

Ma Wenrui said: The draft revised constitution has inherited and carried forward the fundamental principles of the 1954 constitution, while making overall revision of the 1978 constitution, in light of the enormous changes in China's political, economic and cultural life in the new historical period. A prominent feature of the draft revised constitution is that it has overcome the "leftist" influence, eliminated "leftist" content, words, phrases and reflected the guidelines of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee and 12th CPC Congress. Using the four cardinal principles as the overall guidance, the draft revised constitution represents the fundamental interests and common will of the people of the whole country.

Ma Wenrui also stressed the importance of studying, propagating and implementing the new constitution. He said: After the draft revised constitution is adopted, it must be enforced as the fundamental law of the country with the supreme legal force and authority. Due to the "leftist" influence over a long period of time, especially due to the trampling on the constitution by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary cliques, the prestige of the constitution was severely damaged. Some people thought that it was not necessary to have and abide by the constitution. This is very erroneous and harmful. After the new constitution is promulgated, we must extensively publicize, consciously safeguard the dignity of, and set a good example in observing the constitution. The revision and formulation of the constitution were made under the party's leadership. All stipulations in the constitution embody the party's line and policies and reflect the common will of the people of the whole country. Enforcement of the constitution means the realization of the party leadership. Therefore, party organizations at all levels and all party members in Shaanxi must, in accordance with the requirement put forward by Comrade Hu Yaobang in his report at the 12th CPC National Congress, take the lead in observing the constitution and conducting their activities within the limits permitted by the constitution. So long as we conscientiously implement the new constitution, we will be able to promote the victorious advances in China's socialist modernization and ensure the smooth realization of the gigantic program set forth by the 12th CPC National Congress.

NPC DELEGATION RETURNS FROM ASIAN TOUR 3 DEC

OW031904 Beijing XINHUA in English 1624 GMT 3 Dec 82

[Text] Beijing, December 3 (XINHUA) -- A delegation from China's National People's Congress led by Peng Chong, vice-chairman of the N.P.C. Standing Committee, returned here this evening after visiting Thailand, Malaysia and the Philippines.

Meeting them at the airport were Ulanhu, vice-chairman of the N.P.C. Standing Committee; Zeng Tao, deputy secretary-general of the N.P.C. Standing Committee; Fu Hao, adviser to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; and diplomatic envoys and officials from the three Asian countries in Beijing.

NIE RONGZHEN ON CPC'S POLICY TOWARD INTELLECTUALS

OWO41011 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0915 GMT 2 Dec 82

[Text] Beijing, 2 Dec (XINHUA) -- Comrade Nie Rongzhen, member of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee and vice chairman of the Central Military Commission, received Xiong Fu, chief editor of HONGQI journal, at the former's residence on the afternoon of 25 November and issued an important talk saying that without intellectuals it would be impossible to realize the four modernizations nor fulfill the grand task of quadrupling China's industrial and agricultural output.

Comrade Nie Rongzhen said: The party's current policy toward intellectuals is unequivocal. In the foreword of the constitution (revised draft) which is being examined at the current NPC session, it is clearly stated that in China's socialist construction we must rely on the workers, peasants and intellectuals. This shows that workers, peasants and intellectuals constitute the three basic social forces in China and the main body of the Chinese people. We must educate the vast number of cadres and the masses to fully appreciate the intellectuals' position and role in China's socialist modernization program.

Comrade Nie Rongzhen said: Following the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, our party reexamined and reaffirmed its policy toward intellectuals and has regarded the intellectuals as a component part of China's working class. Comrade Deng Xiaoping has repeatedly talked about this question. Happy and with an ease of mind, intellectuals have worked hard and made tremendous contributions on various fronts.

Comrade Nie Rongzhen said: At present, the party's policy toward intellectuals has not been thoroughly implemented in some departments and areas, and resistance against the policy is still strong both inside and outside the party. The major cause of this resistance is that some "left" ideological influence has not been completely eliminated. Many people, particularly cadres, still harbor various prejudices against intellectuals, look down on them or discriminate against them. On the question of implementing the policy toward intellectuals, our press and public opinion agencies must loudly appeal to the public and make the vast number of cadres and masses realize this fact: Without scientific and technological progress, we can neither realize the four modernizations, nor vigorously develop our economy, build up the two civilizations or quadruple our industrial and agricultural output by the end of this century. Of course, we can introduce advanced technology from foreign countries, but the four modernizations cannot be bought with money. Therefore, we say, without intellectuals it would be impossible to realize the four modernizations or fulfill the grand task of quadrupling China's industrial and agricultural output.

Recalling the Guangzhou conference of 1962, Comrade Nie Rongzhen said: At that conference long ago, we "threw away the old hats worn by intellectuals and gave them crowns to wear instead." At that time, a heated debate was going on which focused on the party's policy toward intellectuals. At that conference Premier Zhou Enlai, Comrade Chen Yi, Comrade Guo Muruo and I held several discussion sessions. Even at that time we maintained that since we had trained the majority of intellectuals since the founding of the new republic, how could one still label them as bourgeois intellectuals? We proposed to "throw away the intellectuals' old hats and give them crowns," which meant ridding them of the label of bourgeois intellectuals and announcing that they were the working class' intellectuals. Premier Zhou, Comrade Chen Yi and I all spoke at the conference and a conclusion was reached. However, this conclusion was later overthrown by the "Great Cultural Revolution." Under the destruction of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," the intellectuals were labelled "bourgeois reactionary authorities" and the "stinking ninth category" and mercilessly persecuted almost beyond recovery.

After the downfall of the "gang of four," particularly since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, in its effort to bring order amidst chaos, the party reestablished the policy toward intellectuals giving them a chance to stand up and bring their intelligence and wisdom into play in the four modernizations.

Comrade Nie Rongzhen said: Not long ago I talked with a GUANGMING RIBAO reporter on the question of intellectuals. The majority of the people agreed with me on this question. However, I offended a number of people. What could I do about this? For the sake of national interests and in order to implement the party's policy toward intellectuals in an all-round way, we have to launch a struggle.

Despising and discriminating against intellectuals are reflections of foolishness and backwardness. However, they have had a long history both in Chinese society and inside our party. During the 10 years of disorder of the "gang of four," these prejudices were pushed to their extreme and their pernicious influence has still not been thoroughly uprooted. Therefore, against these influences we must launch open criticism against these prejudices or, if necessary, even a struggle.

Comrade Nie Rongzhen talked with a great deal of concern about the problem concerning middle-aged intellectuals. He said: The middle-aged intellectuals in their 40's and 50's form the backbone nucleus on various fronts. The heavy burden of building up the two civilizations, developing modern science and technology and raising the entire nation's scientific and cultural levels has fallen squarely on their shoulders. Their work load and family responsibilities are heavy. However, as far as these intellectuals are concerned, the party has failed to thoroughly implement its policy toward intellectuals. Many departments and localities have failed to solve the problem of improving their working and living conditions. This problem merits the attention of leading cadres at all levels, particularly leading cadres of plants and institutes. Touching on the early death of Jiang Zhuying and Luo Jiangfu, two middle-aged scientific and technological cadres, Comrade Nie Rongzhen expressed his deep regret. He said: They were both outstanding representatives of China's intellectuals. Not only did they make tremendous contributions, but they also had very promising futures. Wang Dahang, a noted optician of China, trained Jiang Zhuying to be his successor. However, while they were still alive, responsible persons of some of our party organizations failed to do what they should do to improve their working and living conditions and failed to take better care of and protect them. This is a lesson from which we should learn.

RADIO BA YI COMMENTS ON NEW PRC DEFENSE MINISTER

OW032307 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1325 GMT 28 Nov 82

[Text] It is very natural that the appointment of Comrade Zhang Aiping as defense minister has aroused wide reaction in the whole army. This is the sixth defense minister since the founding of New China. Army building had run into mounting difficulties in the period starting from Comrade Peng Dehuai and ending with the release of Comrade Geng Biao. The above-mentioned comrades had been under heavy pressure from dictatorial politics as some people, from ulterior motives, schemed to replace defense ministers and undermine their prestige. As a result, those comrades were forced to resign and others were persecuted to death. Some people now ask: Can Comrade Zhang Aiping, the sixth defense minister, shoulder his responsibilities without much trouble?

From the standpoint of principle, the great majority of commanders and fighters thought that with his rich work experience and enormous military ability, Comrade Zhang Aiping would be capable of carrying the heavy responsibilities as defense minister.

Comrade Zhang Aiping is a senior member of our army and was Comrade Peng Dehuai's old comrade in arms. Especially significant was that, together with Comrades Zhang Wentian, Huang Kecheng and Zhou Xiaozhou, Comrade Zhang Aiping resolutely supported Comrade Peng Dehuai in opposing the leftist adventurous line at the Lushan conference in 1959. Even though they were repeatedly attacked and persecuted after the Lushan conference, Comrade Zhang Aiping and other comrades did not capitulate or abandon their principled stand. In the light of these past truths, we have to say that Comrade Zhang Aiping is taking over as defense minister at a most difficult and crucial time for our army. When we say crucial time we mean that some people, under the signboard of reforming the leftist influence, are attempting to carry out a new purge among leading cadres in the upper echelon of the army, in order to get rid of the so-called highranking cadres they dislike. Losing those experienced and prestigious cadres will naturally weaken our army's fighting capabilities and bring about greater hardships. The rank and file throughout the army must therefore make efforts to turn this adverse situation around.

Some comrades remarked: Only by playing his leading role unswervingly as defense minister can Comrade Zhang Aiping contribute towards realizing the goal of turning the PLA into a regular, modern and powerful army, a goal put forward at the 12th CPC National Congress. It is hoped that Comrade Zhang Aiping will, using our army's respected Old Commander Peng as a shining example, boldly stick to the correct stand, uphold the correct line and always bear in mind what Old Commander Peng once said: A communist should have no fear. Our heads may roll, but we must uphold the correct stand for the sake of the party, the army and the interests of the people!

YOUTH PAPER CONDEMNS KILLING OF BABY GIRLS

HK070416 Beijing ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN BAO in Chinese 9 Nov 82 p 3

[Article by Yang Fan [2254 1581]: "Save the Baby Girl"]

[Text] Recently, many readers have written letters to the editorial department, reporting on cases of abandoned baby girls that occurred in some localities. The innocent babies were left at crossroads or street corners and, in some isolated cases, were drowned. These inhuman and brutal acts should not be tolerated. We deem it necessary to issue a call to the whole society: Save the baby girls!

It has been explicitly stipulated in the marriage law: "Drowning babies and other acts of murdering babies are prohibited." Parents should never resort to this unlawful practice. The departments concerned should also step up publicity on the legal system. With respect to those people who have committed crimes by murdering their babies, it is necessary to punish them according to law.

Many readers pointed out: The fact that these baby girls were abandoned or murdered was primarily due to the feudal idea of regarding men as superior to women, which is still seriously fettering the minds of some people. Quite a few people hold that without a son there will be no descendants. Consequently, in an effort to have a son, they cast away or murder baby girls in secret. The persons who have done this have failed to take this into consideration: Is there a more vicious act in the world than taking the lives of their own children for the sake of their remaining years? It is true that people have to be provided for when they reach old age. However, this does not mean that only sons can shoulder this task. According to the regulations of the marriage law, a daughter has the same duty to support her parents as a son does. At present, in the families of cadres, staff and workers in cities and towns, not only have a great many females assumed this duty as daughters, but more often than not they care for their parents more attentively and satisfactorily than sons do.

In the rural areas, although in a majority of cases a female settles in the husband's house after she gets married, however, following the improvement of a woman's status in society and the family, the duty of a daughter to support her parents will also receive more and more reliable guarantee. Moreover, with the development in building the material and spiritual civilizations, society will also give more cadre and support to old people. Many commune and production brigades have started implementing the system of issuing pensions to old commune members. They make great efforts to run the homes for the aged so that "people have something to live on in their old age." Therefore, young couples at the present time should be farsighted. They should not be so shortsighted as to commit an ugly act that is utterly devoid of conscience.

In human development, the law of multiplication makes it inevitable that the ratio between men and women in society will be approximately in balance. If these acts of murdering and killing baby girls remain unchecked, this will artificially disrupt the balance. According to statistics, serious imbalance characterized by a ratio of 3:2 between male and female babies that have been born and have survived in the past 2 years has occurred in some communes. If this phenomenon is not checked immediately, there will be a very serious social problem in 20 years' time, in which a large number of young men will be without spouses. May we offer a piece of advice to young parents: You should never do foolish things liable to be criticized by the next generation.

HU YAOBANG'S 24 OCT-1 NOV ANHUI TOUR DETAILED

OW060853 Hefei Anhui Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 4 Dec 82

[Text] According to an ANHUI RIBAO report, Hu Yaobang, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee, had pointed out during his recent inspection tour in Anhui: With the development of the situation of our country, we leading cadres at various levels have been charged with heavier responsibilities. Our comrades should be concerned about the four modernizations, pay attention to working methods, take a broad and long-term view and work hard in a down-to-earth way to make new contributions to realizing the grand objective put forward by the 12th CPC National Congress.

From 24 October to 1 November, Comrade Hu Yaobang inspected Dangshan and Xiaoxian Counties of Suxian Prefecture and Huaibei and Hefei Municipalities in the company of Zhou Zijian, acting first secretary of Anhui Provincial CPC Committee and governor of Anhui, and Cheng Guanghua, standing committee member of the provincial party committee and vice governor of Anhui. He then inspected Chuxian and Chaohu Prefectures, Wuhu Municipality, Xuancheng and Huizhou Prefectures and Tongxi Municipality in the company of Comrade Cheng Guanghua.

Comrade Hu Yaobang said it had been many years since his last visit to Anhui and that he came at this time to see the new situation and to discuss new plans. Throughout the inspection tour he paid attention to familiarizing himself with the rural situation and seriously listening to briefings by the provincial party committee and the party committees of various prefectures, municipalities and counties concerned. He had cordial conversations with leading cadres at various levels and with the peasants.

Those who successively accompanied Comrade Hu Yaobang on the tour were Hu Qili, a member of the CPC Central Committee Secretariat; Qiao Shi and Hao Jiaxiu, alternate members of the CPC Central Committee Secretariat; Yang Dezhong, first deputy director of the General Office and a member of the CPC Central Committee; Li Peng, a member of the CPC Central Committee and vice minister of the Ministry of Water Conservancy and Power; Lu Liangshu, an alternate member of the CPC Central Committee and president of the Chinese Academy of Agricultural Sciences; Jiang Xi, vice minister of the Ministry of Commerce; and Chen Haosu, secretary of the CYL Central Committee.

Comrade Hu Yaobang spoke highly of the work done by the people of the party organizations at various levels in Anhui and of the excellent situation in the countryside since the implementation of the system of responsibility for agricultural production.

He said: After the party Central Committee solved the problem concerning the leadership of the Anhui provincial party committee in the second half of 1977, the new provincial party committee headed by Comrade Wan Li implemented the principle of solving problems and stabilizing the situation at the same time, proposed taking production as the central task, actively advocated and implemented the system of responsibility for agricultural production and rapidly improved the bad political and economic situation that was caused by the gang of four. In particular, it improved the rural economic situation, resolutely corrected longstanding leftist mistakes and used correct policies to fire the broad masses of peasants with enthusiasm. We should say that the 2 years of hovering did not exist in Anhui Province. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the party organizations at all levels and the broad masses of cadres in Anhui Province, guided by the line, principles and policies adopted by the party Central Committee, have continued to work hard for the prosperity of the province. The general situation has been constantly improving. Taking the lead in making improvements, some comrades in Anhui have made contributions and great achievements in opening new prospects for agriculture.

With these good achievements as a foundation, Anhui Province has constantly increased its production since 1977, in spite of 3 years of serious natural disasters.

Comrade Hu Yaobang visited Xiaoxian and Danshan to learn about the situation there. The two counties were struck by bad floods after successive, extraordinarily heavy rains this summer. Fortunately, these counties have enhanced their ability to combat natural disasters since they generally implemented the system of responsibility for agricultural production -- the system of fixing output quotas on the household basis and the system of bao gan dao hu [under unified management of the production team, each household retains everything produced on the land assigned to it after paying taxes and contributing its share to the accumulation and public welfare funds as a member of the collective] -- after the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. Working under the unified arrangements made by the provincial party committee, they actively relied on their own force to restore production and finally overcome the disaster. Comrade Hu Yaobang praised the cadres and people there for what they did to combat the floods and what they did afterwards.

At present, all localities in the province are working hard to achieve the strategic objective of quadrupling the gross annual value of industrial and agricultural production before the end of the century. During the briefings given him by various localities on their plans for achieving the objective, Comrade Hu Yaobang often cited advanced typical cases and advanced experiences of other provinces to guide the leading cadres to emancipate their minds and widen their views. He urged them to study problems in light of new circumstances and the trends of economic development in China and Anhui and urged them to free themselves of old practices.

Hu Yaobang said: When we study how to deal with a problem, we should broaden our minds and study how to deal with it step by step. The leading cadres should visit the grass-root units more often to study the situation themselves and should not merely rely on the written information relayed to them from one level to another.

He stressed: To make a correct policy decision one must first have a great deal of reliable information. This is not merely a matter of a method of work, it also concerns how we understand a problem and concerns our ideological line. Only by intensifying investigation and study can we really understand how to give play to the local strength and potentials and resolve the new problems before us. Hu Yaobang continued: It is still 18 years until the year 2000. Let us compete and do our work with boldness and resolution.

Chuxian is one of the prefectures in Anhui where the system of responsibility in agricultural production was carried out quite early. During the past 4 years, the prefecture's total grain output was increasing at an average of 16.9 percent annually. Instead of buying "resold grain" from the state to feed its people, as had been the case for years in the past, the prefecture's contributions to the state have become bigger and bigger. During the last 4 years, the prefecture sold 4.1 billion jin of grain to the state. When the Chuxian prefectural party committee reported that it planned to develop the prefecture into a base of commercial grain, Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out: We should have a new concept of the meaning of a base of commercial grain because of the new situation. If we merely build a base to produce nothing but commercial grain, its value is insignificant because the income will be low and the freight for grain export will be high. But we can turn a base of raw grain into a base for processing food and feed. In that case, while we can continue to work hard to produce more raw grain, we can also process food, produce mixed feed, extract edible oil from rapeseeds and produce other products.

At the same time, when we have more food grain, we can go on to raise dairy cattle and dairy goats by utilizing the abundant supply of hay and forage, and then we can go on to produce dairy products and meat. Not only will this enable us to accomplish better economic results but it will also spur local industrial production with the agricultural and sideline products.

Comrade Hu Yaobang also visited two families in (Shangzhuang) production team of (Huayuan) brigade in (Langya) Commune whose living standard is above average in Chuxian County. Gao Jinlan, a female peasant, jubilantly replied to the general secretary's cordial questions. Under a contract, Gao's family of three is taking care of 11 mu of cropland. Her husband works at a commune-run enterprise. In addition to working in the field, she has to take care of one child. This year her family reaped 9,650 jin of grain, and there were also rapeseeds and peanuts.

Comrade Hu Yaobang asked her: Do you have pigs and chickens?

She replied: We used to have 4 pigs, but we recently sold a big one; and we have 45 chickens and 20 geese. Our income, which includes the income from sideline occupations and my husband's salary from the commune-run enterprise, averages 1,013 yuan per person.

She then guided the leading comrades of the central authorities on a tour of her spacious three-room brick house, which also has a separate kitchen and a storage room. In addition to the modern style of furniture, there are a television set and an electric fan.

The situation of her next-door neighbor Zhou Jiaping, another female peasant, is very similar. The Zhou family and another family also shared the expenses for the purchase of a walking tractor.

Comrade Hu Yaobang was pleased to note the upswing of Anhui's agriculture and the improvement of the peasants' livelihood. He said: Quadruplication of agricultural production is a matter of primary importance. When agricultural production has been enhanced and when the peasants have become well-off, the solutions to other problems will be easier. The current situation in the rural areas is indeed improving. This improvement will give a great impetus to the improvement of the entire economic and political situation.

Comrade Hu Yaobang told the leading cadres from various localities that they should go all-out to mobilize and lead the peasants to explore various new ways to become affluent through working hard. He said: To promote agricultural production, we must reaffirm the concept of bringing about an all-round development in agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, sideline occupations, fishery and processing industry. While we must never slacken the efforts in producing food grain, we must energetically promote economic diversification, promote breeding of aquatic products and planting cash crops in an effort to broaden production. When we do this, the surplus manpower in the rural areas will have a way out and we can accelerate the process of helping the peasants to become more affluent.

During his inspection in Anhui, Comrade Hu Yaobang urged the leaders at different levels to heed and support those households engaged in specialized trades and production as well as the new economic complexes that are formed according to the principle of voluntary participation and mutual benefit. He pointed out: All this indicates the development of division of agricultural work. The further agricultural work divides, the higher the commodity rate of agricultural products will become; division of labor in society can boost commodity exchange in society. This is an economic law independent of man's will. Our country's rural economy certainly will head in this direction.

At present, certain localities fail to accurately foresee the future of agriculture and the trend toward a highly socialized agriculture. Consequently, they have fallen short of the demands of the times in many ways.

When Comrade Hu Yaobang was travelling in southern Anhui and saw the vast tracts of bamboo groves in the mountainous areas there, he said excitedly: What beautiful bamboo groves! He told the leading members of the Xuancheng prefectural party committee: Your special district's agricultural group should assign several people to make a special study of bamboo. They should study this issue thoroughly, not casually or half-heartedly. Bamboo grows quickly; it has many uses; and its transport is easy. In areas where there is plenty of bamboo, every household should have 2 or 3 fen [1 fen equals 0.1 mu] of bamboo and engage in producing bamboo wares.

With regard to many areas' difficulty in selling their grain and agricultural and sidelines products and buying handicraft, problems derived from selling more grain to the state, Comrade Hu Yaobang urged the leading cadres to be aware of the new problems that have appeared under the new situation and to be ideologically prepared for the motivating force a thriving agriculture has brought to all professions and trades. He said: When agriculture has developed, when the supply of raw material for industrial production has increased and when the demand for industrial goods has increased, there will be the question of how to broaden the avenue of commercial exchange between urban and rural areas and how to develop the domestic market.

Comrade Hu Yaobang said: We have a vast market in our own country. This is a highly favorable factor. We cannot rely on the efforts of the state-owned commercial units alone to develop the domestic market, particularly the vast market in the countryside. New channels have to be opened. All localities must combat the idea of eating out of the same big pot and focus their attention on relying on the efforts of all quarters and the masses.

When Dangshan County reported that because of excess of inventory and poor sales several years ago large quantities of pears -- a famous local product -- were destroyed, but that as a result of broadening the market and additional market channels in the past 2 years the losses have dropped and the masses are happy because they have additional income from selling pears, Comrade Hu Yaobang said approvingly: The fundamental issue is blocking and broadening the circulation channels. We must be determined to reform the commercial structure in the rural areas so as to enliven the supply and marketing cooperatives in counties and smaller areas. We should promote a new cooperative economy by encouraging the peasants to pool their money to start their own undertakings, be shareholders of their own businesses, manage their businesses democratically and determine the amounts of their own bonuses.

On procurement of grain, Comrade Hu Yaobang said: There should be a policy for taking care of grain. Since the state does not have enough warehouses, the grain must be taken care of by various other means. Large-, medium- and small-sized warehouses must all be utilized. Peasants and households engaged in specialized production can also be entrusted to keep the grain, and they will be paid by the state for their service.

Upon learning that certain localities, despite the overstocking of agricultural and sideline products, do not permit the peasants to travel long distance to market their products, Comrade Hu Yaobang said: When the masses demand to unblock the buying and marketing channels, the leading cadres at all levels should not block their efforts. Why are there people known as "two-way peddlers"?

As there is a large variety of agricultural products and the villages in the countryside are often far apart, the peasants, after selling to the state the products the state wants, often find themselves with small quantities of all types of products which they themselves and the state do not need. So they have to seek the assistance of somebody who can help them collect these products, sell them in other places and bring back something the peasants need. It is perfectly normal for these people to get reasonable pay for their service. They have provided a good service in enlivening the urban and rural economy. So long as such a service is properly guided and administered by some regulations and limits, the negative effects from such a service can be avoided. The title of "two-way peddlers" should be eliminated, and the policies toward these people should be changed.

While inspecting the coalfields north of the Huai He River, Comrade Hu Yaobang acquainted himself -- through investigation -- with the coal industry in Huaibei Municipality and its plans and measures to step up the development of energy resources and save energy. He encouraged the broad masses of workers and staff members to work hard in high spirits in order to increase production according to economic priorities. Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out: Efforts should be made to properly solve problems in coal processing and in making multipurpose use of it, which will help improve labor productivity.

Comrade Hu Yaobang said: It is necessary to continue to carry out reforms in economic work. Leading bodies in charge of economic work should make efforts to solve problems in management first.

Comrade Hu Yaobang also gave important instructions on the development of small hydropower stations. The data he brought along included information about the water resources in southern Anhui. After analyzing water resources in the country's more than 2,000 counties, he put forward his idea of achieving electrification in some of these counties in 10 to 15 years.

While talking with leading cadres of the (Xuancheng) prefectural party committee, he raised a new question for the prefecture by saying: First, vigorous efforts should be made to build small hydropower stations in the two counties of Jingxian and Ningguo where conditions permit. Later, efforts should be made to achieve electrification in the two counties -- to achieve all-round electrification from lighting to electric power for processing, television sets, televised cultural courses and for heating and cooking purposes. This will help peasants improve working conditions, prevent environmental pollution, engage in the processing of agricultural products, protect forests and receive an education. The measures to be taken in this regard are that peasants should build, manage and use such small hydropower stations themselves. Power rates should be reduced so that peasants can afford to use electric power.

Comrade Hu Yaobang said: An analysis of various aspects of conditions shows that it is not difficult to realize this idea through hard work. The key question in this regard is whether leading cadres at various levels have an eager desire to do so. Why have foreigners been able to achieve all-round electrification while we Chinese dare not think of doing so? The development of the power industry will bring along the development of electrical appliances for daily use as well as nonferrous metalwares.

Leading cadres at all levels bear the historic responsibility for achieving the grand strategic objective. While receiving leading cadres of the party, government and army organizations in the province, Comrade Hu Yaobang discussed with them the most important and glorious historical task at present for the old comrades. The 1st Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee decided to carry out organizational reform at the provincial, municipal or autonomous regional level and at the prefectural or municipal level this winter and in the coming spring. In carrying out this reform it is necessary to achieve the four purposes of streamlining the administrative structure, raising work efficiency, making arrangements for old comrades and taking in fresh blood. Where people begin this reform early and carry it out quickly, they can achieve the initiative in this regard; otherwise, if they put off this work, they will put themselves in a passive position. When we use the correct method, follow the mass line to the letter and are bold and resolute in carrying out this reform, we can accomplish it early. This calls for the long-tested old comrades who are trusted by the party and the people to step forward, proceed from the party's cause as a whole and the program for development in the next several decades, take the lead in publicizing this reform and solve problems in this regard. To maintain the long-term stability and continuity of our party organizations, maintain and carry forward our party's fine traditions and continuously implement its lines, principles and policies, it is necessary for the old comrades to observe and support comrades in their prime, recommend them for more important positions, pass on their experiences and give help to and set an example for the latter. A good job must be done in succession from old comrades to new ones. This problem must be solved according to the line and the organizational system. A number of retiring old comrades should not worry that there will be no work for them to do. They will have a lot of work to do -- at least in the next 5 years. It is necessary to do the following work: First, to carry out organizational reform; second, to carry out party consolidation; and third, to carry out economic reform in an all-round way. All this should be done by relying on old comrades retiring to the second line to make investigation and study, participate in planning, provide their experiences and persuade the masses. To do our work well, it is necessary for our organizations at all levels to: First, be good at dividing and organizing the work; and second, pay close attention to work methods, reduce the authority to command, give people a greater say in matters and make more investigations and studies.

Comrade Hu Yaobang stressed: The requirements I set for you comrades are to concern yourselves with the four modernizations and pay close attention to work methods. I hope that you will continue to march ahead of others in performing the first formidable task for this winter and the coming spring and make fresh contributions to satisfying the needs of the people.

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC MINISTERS CONTINUE VISIT

Meet Premier Sun

OW070329 Taipei CNA in English 0233 GMT 7 Dec 82

[Text] Taipei, Dec 6 (CNA) -- Premier Sun Yun-hsuan Monday received Jose del Carmen Marciano, the Dominican Republic's minister of industrial and commercial affairs, and Rafael Subervi Bonilla, that nation's minister of tourism. He exchanged views with them on matters of business, agriculture and tourism between the two countries. During their stay here, they have called on government leaders, and visited centers of cultural and economic interest. The two dignitaries who came here Dec. 1 will depart Tuesday.

Communique Signed

OW070335 Taipei CNA in English 0243 GMT 7 Dec 82

[Text] Taipei, Dec. 7 (CNA) -- The Republic of China will assist the Dominican Republic in developing science and technology, according to a communique signed Monday between Foreign Minister Chu Fu-sung and Jose del Carmen Marciano, minister of industrial and commercial affairs.

The communique reaffirms the traditional friendship between the ROC and the Dominican Republic, saying that the two nations share common ideals of freedom and democracy.

It pledges that the two countries will continue to strengthen ties of cooperation in various fields including:

- ROC will help Dominican Republic build port facilities for the purpose of exporting industrial as well as agricultural products.
- ROC will encourage its private companies to transfer their agricultural techniques to produce vegetables in the Dominican Republic and help that nation develop vegetable exports.
- ROC will encourage its investors to set up factories in the Dominican Republic for manufacturing and assembling of products for exports.
- ROC and Dominican Republic will cooperate in developing fishery techniques and resources.

TRADE AGREEMENTS WITH KINGDOM OF LESOTHO SIGNED 1 DEC

OW061207 Taipei CHINA POST in English 2 Dec 82 p 12

[Text] Premier Sun Yun-hsuan and Prime Minister Dr Leabua Jonathan of the Kingdom of Lesotho set their hands to two agreements and a joint memorandum yesterday in a document signing ceremony held at the Executive Yuan in Taipei. Both men acted on behalf of their respective countries in inking a trade agreements between the Government of the Republic of China and the Government of the Kingdom of Lesotho and an agreement between the two governments for the promotion and protection of investments.

Memo of Understanding

A memorandum of understanding by and between the Republic of China and the Kingdom of Lesotho was also signed by Premier Sun and Lesotho prime minister, the subject of which was loans. The matter of loans between the two countries was also taken up in a separate agreement signed by representatives of the governments of the two countries.

A loan agreement between the Bank of Taiwan of the Republic of China and the Government of the Kingdom of Lesotho was signed by the president of the Bank of Taiwan, Wang Chih-tao, representing the ROC and Lesotho's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Information and Broadcasting Charles D. Molapo.

Molapo also signed a supplementary agreement on technical cooperation between the two countries, with Minister of Foreign Affairs Chu Fu-sung signing on behalf of the Republic of China.

Agri. Cooperation

The Republic of China and the Kingdom of Lesotho first entered into formal agreements with the signing of a joint agricultural cooperation agreement between the two governments in 1968 which provided for the sending of Chinese agricultural teams to the south African nation to help in the upgrading of agriculture there. Another initial agreement on technical cooperation was signed in 1976 which must be renewed every three years.

The agreement on technical cooperation signed here yesterday was not a new agreement, but a supplement to the existing technical cooperation agreement.

The government here has always encouraged investments by local businessmen in Lesotho and yesterday's agreements are seen as a measure to strengthen this encouragement with official backing in the form of signed agreements.

ADVANCED WAR INFORMATION DISPLAY DEVICE NOTED

OW041441 Taipei CNA in English 1415 GMT 4 Dec 82

[Text] Taipei, Dec. 4 (CNA) -- The national defense research unit Saturday displayed a set of advanced war information display device, capable of plotting the position of invading forces and tracking them.

To their capabilities, the Chinese Armed Forces are gradually replacing obsolete advanced warning systems with this system.

The system developed by the Chung Shan Science Research Institute is being exhibited at the information week exhibition grounds at the Shung Shan airport now.

According to the Chung Shan Science Research Institute, the system is capable of automatic plotting and tracking of objects appearing on the screen and accurately predicting the invaders' potential courses.

By tying in sonar with radar, the device can detect the location, height, depth and speed of aircraft and submarines. At present, the Chinese Air Force and Navy have begun to replace their old equipment with the system and it is expected to greatly increase the battle capacity of the Chinese Armed Forces.

Some of its hardware was imported from abroad, but the system's software was designed wholly by local experts.

CHINA POST EDITORIAL ON RECENT PRC RESHUFFLE

OW020449 Taipei CHINA POST in English 25 Nov 82 p 4

[Editorial: "Peking Regime's Reshuffle"]

[Text] The recent reshuffle ordered by the Peking regime presages greater power struggle and instability on the Chinese mainland.

The replacement of Huang Hua, 69, foreign minister for the past six years, by his deputy, senior foreign minister Wu Hsueh-chien, 60, the day after Huang's return from Moscow was a surprise move. Huang went to Moscow as a "special envoy" to attend Leonid Brezhnev's funeral. He had a conversation with new communist party chief Yuriy V. Andropov, who showed him more than routine courtesy and treated him on near equal terms as a head of state. He also had a 90-minute talk with Soviet Foreign Minister Andrey Gromyko and discussed further normalization moves. Huang also issued some optimistic statements after the talks and upon his return to Peking.

The announcement of his replacement one day after Huang's return was surprising even though Huang had wished to retire for some time due to his urinary tract ailment. If he really has a serious health problem, he should not have been sent to Moscow in the first place. It would be more logical to have him replaced by Wu before the Moscow visit rather than sending him to Moscow and have him replaced right after his return. It would indeed be interesting to ascertain the real background of this sudden shift. Could it be a move to discourage the Soviets from playing the China card against the United States? Or could it be a move to intimidate the United States to make further concessions by removing the person who is already well known to the United States?

The removal of Keng Piao as "defense minister" and replacing him with Chang Aiping, 72, is less mysterious. Keng's replacement had generally been expected since last September when he lost his Central Committee and Politburo seat at the 12th CPC Congress between September 1 and 11th of this year. As Keng was the appointee of Hua Kuo-feng, his downfall was a matter of time. Keng's replacement, Chang Aiping, has been a close associate of Teng Hsiao-ping and is credited with directing Red China's recent development of the submarine-launched ballistic missile. He was appointed to carry out further modernization programs of the military as well as to pacify existing grievances in the military against Teng. But Chang is a naval officer. Whether he can exercise a great influence in other branches of the military, the army and the air force, remains to be seen.

All the recent changes affecting the military and foreign affairs represent a thorough grabbing of power by Teng to offset Hua Kuo-feng's residual influence in the government and the party. Whether Teng can succeed is quite uncertain. Teng's campaign to weed out nearly 20 million party members from all branches of the government is truly a gigantic if not an impossible task.

CHENG MING REVIEWS PLA PERSONNEL CHANGES

HK061130 Hong Kong CHENG MING in Chinese No 62, Dec 82 pp 47-50

[Article by Hsu Hsing [6079 5887]: "The PLA's 'Earthquake'"]

[Text] One of the most glaring incidents in the wake of the 12th CPC National Congress is the great personnel changes in the army. So far, the changes that are already known are: changes in the General Political Department, Navy Headquarters, the Donghai Fleet and the Guangzhou, Chengdu, Nanjing, Wuhan and Lanzhou Military Regions. Besides this, there must be some other personnel changes in some important military departments that have not been announced or that it is inadvisable to announce.

Origin and Development of the "Zhao Yiya Incident"

Within the CPC, there has always been a force that resists reform. By some people, it is called the "leftist pernicious influence." This "leftist" influence exists more seriously within the army than in other departments and units because the army is a well disciplined organization that lays much stress on obedience and on the education in Mao Zedong Thought. The leading officers in the army, though they made meritorious contributions in the past and during the wartime, have generally a low cultural level and lack world knowledge. They are not actually engaged in economic affairs. This is why they have always blindly worshiped the old conventions of Mao Zedong Thought and whenever they find any social practice disagreeable to them, they easily complain and bear resentment against the present reforms being carried out by the Deng-Hu faction. This is the force that opposes the spirit of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee and that is officially criticized.

So far as we -- the outsiders -- can see, this force was concretely expressed in the incident of criticizing Bai Hua that occurred last year in SHIDAI DE BAOGAO and the Zhao Yiya incident that occurred on the eve of the 12th CPC National Congress in JIEFANGJUN BAO. Zhao Yiya was originally deputy chief editor of JIEFANGJUN BAO. On 28 August, he wrote an article for JIEFANGJUN BAO entitled "Communist Ideology Is the Core of Socialist Spiritual Civilization." There were three points in this article that differed with what Deng and Hu had said: 1) on the class character of spiritual civilization, Zhao Yiya laid stress on this while the Deng faction held that not all spheres of general cultural knowledge bear class character; 2) on the content of spiritual civilization, Deng Xiaoping talked about it twice. He talked about three criteria on one occasion, that is, "ideals, morality and sense of discipline" and on the other, he talked about four criteria: "ideals, morality, culture and sense of discipline." Zhao Yiya only emphasized the former three and was thus criticized as disregarding culture; 3) Zhao Yiya criticized several responsible cadres in the theoretical, literary and art and press circles for supporting "bourgeois liberalization." This resulted in the resentment of others against him.

Undoubtedly, Zhao Yiya's opinions have the smell of the "pernicious leftist influence." However, if the Communist Party allows academic freedom and really implements the policy of "letting a hundred schools contend," open polemics should be held on these different opinions. But the Deng faction also prefers to bully people on the strength of its power and position. As a result, the editorial board of JIEFANGJUN BAO was forced to carry a self-criticism article on 28 September and to criticize Zhao Yiya's opinions.

Behind this incident, there were serious power and line struggles within the CPC.

As with the immediate response by Shanghai's JIEFANG RIBAO when SHIDAI DE BAOGAO launched criticism against Bai Hua, Zhao Yiya's article was reprinted in JIEFANG RIBAO immediately after it was carried in JIEFANGJUN BAO.

Formation of the Conservative Faction in the Army

There are usually interrelations in the struggle between the inner-CPC factions. Obviously, Zhao Yiya, who was deputy chief editor of JIEFANGJUN BAO, was backed by Hua Nan, director of the paper, in writing the article. Hua Nan was deputy director of the PLA General Political Department. He was probably backed by Wei Guoqing, director of the department.

Likewise, SHIDAI DE BAOGAO was originally edited by some army writers with the purpose of preserving a publication front for themselves. From 1980 to 1981, its executive chief editor was Huang Gang, who was called "Yao Wenyuan the second." In 1982, he was replaced by Wei Wei, who was deputy director of the Literature and Art Office of the Cultural Department of the PLA General Political Department and now is director of the Cultural Department of the Beijing Military Region. Wei Chuantong, director of this publication house, was a poet during the Long March. He has long been engaged in the literary and art activities in the army and is now an adviser to the Propaganda Department of the PLA General Political Department and concurrently head of the PLA Art Academy. They all have connections with Liu Baiyu, who is in charge of literary and art work in the General Political Department and, in the final analysis, have connections with Wei Guoqing.

These intellectuals in the army have had a close relationship with Chen Yi, who is in the Propaganda Department of the Shanghai Municipal CPC Committee. This is why, when they attacked Bai Hua and carried Zhao Yiya's article, they were supported by Shanghai's JIEFANG RIBAO.

These are visible connections that we can see. The invisible connections may cover a wider range. From this we can see that Wei Guoqing has become an important figure in the army. Various forces that are discontent with Deng Xiaoping, Hu Yaobang and Zhao Ziyang have gathered around him. If he is allowed to go on developing his forces, two cores will inevitably be shaped among the second generation leaders of the CPC: one of Hu Yaobang and the other of Wei Guoqing, and they will grow into two powerful forces in the political circles after Deng Xiaoping's death. Conflict between them will be quite possible.

Lightning Dismissal of Wei Guoqing

Now we still cannot discover the direct influence of the personnel arrangement of the 12th CPC National Congress (such as the removal of Hua Guofeng, Xu Shiyu, Geng Biao and Peng Chong from the Politburo, and the removal of Wang Renzhong from the central Secretariat) or the removal of Wei Guoqing. However, we can draw inference from this that Wei Guoqing was removed from his post only after the conclusion of the 12th party congress, and the removal was a lightning one. The 12th party congress concluded on 12 September, and the 1st Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee was convened on the same day, and Wei Guoqing was still elected a member of the Politburo. When the PLA Headquarters of the General Staff, the General Political Department and the General Logistics Department held meetings on 18 September to convey the spirit of the 12th CPC Congress, Yang Dezhi, Wei Guoqing and Hong Xuezhong also spoke at the meetings. But on the evening of 24 September when Kim Il-sung, the DPRK president, gave a banquet in Beijing's Great Hall of the People to entertain Chinese party, government and army leaders, the leaders of various PLA departments who attended were: Zhang Zhen (deputy chief of the General Staff), Liang Biye (deputy director of the General Political Department) and Hong Xuezhong (director of the General Logistics Department). Wei Guoqing was not present. It was quite possible that he had already met with trouble on his position by this date. On 1 October, National Day, things became more clear. It was not Wei Guoqing but Yu Qiuli, director of the General Political Department, who was in the open car to direct the National Day military review held in Beijing by this department and its subordinate units. Thus, people all knew that Wei Guoqing had been dismissed from office.

According to the above-mentioned facts, the actual date Wei Guoqing was dismissed from office should be between 18-24 September.

Wei Guoqing's failure in the army was inevitable, for he was the mainstay of the forces able to contend with Hu Yaobang. In the past, Wei Guoqing was rather active in the movement to support Deng Xiaoping to resume his post. If he was really cleared out, it would naturally be regarded as "casting aside like an old shoe" in the army. Its aftermath merits our attention.

SHIDAI DE BAOGAO Reorganized

Being involved in the Wei Guoqing incident, SHIDAI DE BAOGAO was reorganized and JIEFANGJUN BAO made a self-criticism. The self-criticism article by the editorial board of JIEFANGJUN BAO on the Zhao Yiya issue was published on 28 September, but when Hong Kong learned that SHIDAI DE BAOGAO was reorganized, it was already near the end of October. As a matter of fact, beginning with its October issue, the front cover of this journal has been changed: the original unrestrained cover design of the earth was encircled by three big circles and the namelist of director, editors, executive chief editor and deputy chief editors was deleted from the title page and was replaced by five Chinese characters, "Edited by the Editorial Board."

It is said that the reorganization of the journal was decided by the Standing Committee of the CPC Central Committee. It instructed Deng Liqun, director of the Propaganda Department of the CPC Central Committee, to deal with this matter. Before the editorial board of this journal was reorganized, it launched public polemics with Wenyi Bao and many other newspapers and magazines on the assessment of the 6 years after the Cultural Revolution. Huang Gang and others held that Mao Zedong Thought on literature and art was distorted by the "leftists" during the Cultural Revolution and was distorted by the "rightists" during the 6 years after it. The spearhead was obviously pointed to those of the Deng-Hu faction who were in power in the literary and art circles.

Now all literary and art workers in the editorial board of SHIDAI DE BAOGAO, who belong to the army, have withdrawn from this office. The essence of this journal has been changed, although its title still exists.

From these events, we can imagine that there must be some other departments that were involved, such as the Propaganda Department of the General Political Department, the Editorial Board of JIEFANGJUN BAO, the Propaganda Department of the Shanghai Municipal CPC Committee and the Editorial Board of Shanghai's JIEFANG RIBAO. No concrete information has come in on the changes in these departments.

Major Personnel Changes in the Navy

The two powerful slogans used by the Deng-Hu faction in clearing away dissident forces within the CPC are: streamlining organizations and the four requirements for cadres (revolutionization, rejuvenation, intellectualization and specialization). The organizational reform of the State Council had been completed before the convening of the 12th CPC National Congress. The organizational reform of the party organs was also reflected during the congress. But the changes of leading cadres in the army began mainly after the conclusion of the congress.

The change in personnel in the army's General Political Department has been mentioned above. That was the prelude to major personnel changes in the army after the congress.

The following change was made in navy personnel. Ye Fei, former commander of the PLA Navy, was suddenly replaced by Liu Qinghua. At the concluding meeting of the 12th congress on 12 September, Ye Fei, 68, was still elected a member of the CPC Central Committee. He was not assigned to the Central Advisory Commission for reasons of health or age. But his position in the army was given to Liu Qinghua in late September.

Liu Qinghua had been part of the Fourth Front Red Army in his early days. In the liberation war, he was political commissar of the Eighth Division and head of the Political Department of the Third Column of the Zhongyuan PLA Field Army led by Liu Bocheng and Deng Xiaoping. After that, he was appointed deputy political commissar of the 11th Army of the 2d Field Army. In 1950, the 32nd Division of the 11th Army was turned into a naval force, and Liu Qinghua was shifted to work in the navy and held the rank of rear admiral. He worked successively as political commissar of the Luda Naval Base, deputy political commissar of the South Sea Fleet and deputy political commissar of the navy (when Xiao Jingguang was commander and Su Zhenghua was political commissar). After that, he was appointed deputy director of the Commission for National Defense Science (when Nie Rongzhen was director), deputy chief of staff of the navy and deputy general chief of staff of the PLA. He was neither a member nor an alternate member of the 11th CPC Central Committee, but at the 12th congress, he was elected a member of the Central Committee. It can be seen that things were arranged in advance.

After the change in naval commander, Zheng Guozhong, commander of the East Sea Fleet, also was removed. He was replaced by Xie Zhenghao. This was revealed in the JIEFANG RIBAO report on a large-scale military game conducted by the East Sea Fleet.

An Earthquake in the Guangzhou Military Region

Furthermore, news of personnel changes at the military region level have continued to pour in since early November. The most influential change was that that occurred in the Guangzhou Military Region. Former Commander Wu Kehua, 69, who was born in Yiyang County, Jiangxi Province in 1913, was assigned to the Central Advisory Commission at the 12th party congress. Wu is a general who had once studied in the Soviet Union. He has a close relationship with Huang Yongsheng. In 1950, when Huang Yongsheng was commander of the 15th Army Corps, Wu was a deputy commander of this army corps. Afterwards, he took part in the Korean war with Huang Yongsheng and was appointed deputy commander of the 13th Army Corps of volunteers. After the Korean war, he returned to China with Huang Yongsheng and was appointed chief of staff of the Central South Military Region. After that, he was promoted to the position of commander of the PLA artillery and commanded missile forces. He was disgraced during the Cultural Revolution and was relieved of his post for self-examination. After being rehabilitated in 1975, he was appointed commander of the Railway Engineering Army Corps. After that, he successively held the positions of commander of the Chengdu Military Region in 1977, commander of the Xinjiang Military Region in 1979 and commander of the Guangzhou Military Region in 1980. Now he has retreated to the second front earlier than expected, perhaps because he has had a close relationship with Huang Yongsheng.

You Taizhong, born in Sichuan Province, had been part of the Fourth Front of the Red Army in his early years and had worked in the 129th Division of the 8th Route Army. During the liberation war, he was a brigade commander of the Sixth Column of the Hebei-Shanxi-Henan Field Army led by Liu Bocheng and Deng Xiaoping. Before he was recently transferred to the position of commander of the Guangzhou Military Region, he was commander of the Chengdu Military Region.

What was puzzling was that Wang Zhen, a venerable general in the army and a member of the CPC Politburo, had to be requested to personally come to Guangzhou for the sake of this personnel change. He summoned officers at and above the division level and delivered a speech to them. A group of former leaders who had been removed from their posts, such as Deputy Commanders Huang Ronghai and Ye Jianmin, Deputy Political Commissar Jiang Lindong, Yang Shugen and other responsible people, Deng Yifan, Yan Deming, Chen Haihan, Xiao Yuanli, Zhuang Tian, Lai Chunfeng, Zhu Ying and so forth, also participated in the meeting. Wang Zhen on the one hand affirmed the achievements of the Guangzhou PLA units, and on the other hand, encouraged the units to continue to eliminate the influence of "leftism," and do a good job in maintaining unity between new and old cadres and in succession of the old by the new in leading bodies.

Obviously, Wang Zhen's speech was of dual significance and was a speech of both pacification and appeasement.

Those received by Wang Zhen included all the new and old leaders of the Guangzhou Military Region: Commander You Taizhong, Political Commissar Wang Meng, Deputy Commanders Xu Chunfang, Zhu Yuehua and Zhang Xudeng, Deputy Political Commissar Shan Yinzhang and Lu Weiru. In facing this group of current leaders, Wang Zhen encouraged them to forge firm internal unity, required them to be sincere and frank between comrades, learn from each other's strong points and carry out criticism and self-criticism. The implication of his speech precisely indicated that this great change of personnel in the Guangzhou Military Region had been a shock to the Guangzhou units.

What new personnel arrangements have been made in the Chengdu Military Region since You Taizhong was transferred to Guangzhou? There has been no revelation so far.

Nie Fengzhi of the Nanjing Military Region Has Been Replaced by Xiang Shouzhi

Among the military region commanders and political commissars assigned to the Central Advisory Commission at the 12th party congress, there were Nie Fengzhi, commander of the Nanjing Military Region; Du Ping, political commissar of the Nanjing Military Region; Zhang Caiqian, commander of the Wuhan Military Region; Du Yide, commander of the Lanzhou Military Region; Xiao Wangdong, first political commissar of the Jinan Military Region; and Bai Rubing, political commissar of the same region. This indicated that all these commanders and political commissars had to retreat to the second front and be relieved by others.

It has been learned that Nie Fengzhi's position of commander of the Nanjing Military Region was given to Xiang Shouzhi. People thought that those withdrawing to the second front would all be senile, but that is not the case. Nie Fengzhi, 65, born in 1917, was a hero during the wars. He captured well-known KMT General Wang Yaowu and defeated both the Huang Baitao and Qiu Qingquan Army Corps. He has also commanded troops that stormed and captured Shanghai. In the army, he had a close relationship with Xu Shiyu. In early 1947, when Xu Shiyu was commander of the Ninth Column of the East China Field Army, Nie Fengzhi was commander of the 25th Division of this column. By the end of that year, when Xu Shiyu was promoted as commander of the East Front Army Corps of the East China Field Army, Nie Fengzhi succeeded Xu as commander of the Ninth Column. In the early days after the liberation war victory, Nie Fengzhi was appointed dean of training in the East China Military and Political University. Then he was transferred to the air force and was appointed air force commander of the East China Military Region. He took part in the battles on Yijiangshan Island and the Dachen Islands. Afterwards, he was appointed air force commander of the Nanjing Military Region and deputy commander of this region and took part in the battle on Jinmen Island. The reason for his recent removal perhaps was of the same character as that for Xu Shiyu.

Xiang Shouzhi, who replaced Nie Fengzhi, was former deputy commander of the Nanjing Military Region. He had been part of the 25th Army of the Red Army. He previously had a close relationship with Qin Jiwei. When the 224th Regiment of the 75th Division of the Red Army's 25th Army was redesignated as troops subordinate to Taihang Military Regional Command and Qin Jiwei was commander of the 1st Military District of the Taihang Military Region, Xiang Shouzhi was the commander of the 10th Regiment of this military district. In August 1947, when Qin Jiwei was appointed commander of the 9th Column of the Shanxi-Hebei-Shandong-Henan Field Army (Huang Zhen was political commissar of the column then), Xiang Shouzhi was commander of the 26th Brigade of this column. In February 1949, the 9th Column was redesignated as the 15th Army of the 4th Army Corps of the 2d Field Army. Qin Jiwei was appointed army commander and Xiang Shouzhi was commander of the 44th Division of this army. Now Qin Jiwei is commander of the Beijing Military Region and was elected the second alternate member of the CPC Politburo at the 12th party congress. He is now a favorite in the army. At the same time, Xiang Shouzhi takes charge of the Nanjing military region, replacing

Nie Fengzhi. This is closely related to the vicissitudes at the top of the PLA. It is by no means an accidental arrangement.

As for the questions of what changes will occur in the positions of political commissar, deputy commanders and deputy political commissars of the Nanjing Military Region and what changes will happen in the Wuhan, Lanzhou and Jinan Military Regions after Zhang Caiqian, Du Yide, Xiao Wangdong and Bai Rubin have retreated to the second front, no official news has been available so far and we have to wait and see.

In short, the series of great changes of personnel in the army can at least be counted a new movement of purifying the ranks, if it cannot be regarded as a movement of purging dissidents. This is concurrent with the stable control of power by the troika of Deng-Hu-Zhao. Deng Xiaoping apparently wants in his remaining years to eliminate all forces that will possibly oppose the new leadership headed by Hu Yaobang. The event involving Wei Guoqing was the most important step. This step has not only eliminated the core of leftism inside the army, but also prevented the situation in which the army stands against the party from appearing in the future. The personnel changes in major military regions should not be merely regarded as a step for modernizing the army and enabling army leaders to be younger and more knowledgeable. These changes are in fact closely related to the expansion of influence of the new leadership.

PRC-UK TALKS ON HONG KONG'S FUTURE ASSESSED

HK061011 Hong Kong CHENG MING in Chinese No 62, Dec 82 pp 12-14

[Report from Beijing by Lo Ping [5012 0393]: "Sino-British Contention -- Scene One"]

[Text] A Telefilm Placed on Ice

A girl from the mainland arrives in Hong Kong, taking with her a multicolor dream, in a place where scene after scene of human tragedy is enacted, she sinks into an abyss of misery....

This threadbare story has been made into a 30-minute telefilm by the Central Television Station and Qingyi Film Studio in Beijing. It was originally scheduled to be broadcast in Beijing. However, it was slow in arriving. Up to 16 November, we still "heard the sounds of footsteps at the stairs but did not see any person coming down."

Why was this so?

It was said that some VIP's held that the broadcast of the telefilm in Beijing would touch the sensitive issue of Hong Kong and consequently the telefilm could only be placed on ice for the time being.

Is This "Anti-British Propaganda"?

However, since Mrs Thatcher left Beijing, newspapers and periodicals in Beijing have published a succession of articles on how Britain occupied Hong Kong 140 years ago. For example, GONGREN RIBAO, in an article on 26 October, called the treaty of Nanjing "a treaty signed under the muzzle of a gun." On 9 October, ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN BAO published an article entitled "Origins of the Hong Kong Issue -- The Outcome of the Unequal Treaties," pointing out that the three treaties involving Hong Kong and Kowloon "were the outcome of British imperialist 'gunboat policy' and aggression toward China in the 19th century." In conclusion the article said: "Recovering China's sovereignty over Hong Kong is a sacred duty of the Chinese Government and people." It might be a coincidence or a concerted action, but JIEFANGJUN HUABAO devoted four pages in its October issue to pictures and captions, illustrating the whole process of the opium war and the cession of Hong Kong.

Can we say that China is engaging in anti-British propaganda?

Probably not. The articles in the Chinese press may be considered as a response to Mrs Thatcher's "theory of the validity of the three treaties" advanced in Hong Kong on 27 September. Naturally, there are some national sentiments. The groups of pictures published in JIEFANGJUN HUABAI have evoked the idea of "never forgetting national humiliation."

A Maneuver -- "The Theory of the End of Hong Kong"

"On the Hong Kong issue, China has been forced to react under pressure from Britain." This remark was made by a top ranking Chinese official. A document transmitted to various institutions in Beijing has stressed this point. It says that China was most annoyed at two acts by the British side. One was the British prime minister's "theory of the validity of the three treaties"; the other was a maneuver by the British side.

It is believed that Britain presented the "theory of the validity of the three treaties" at the negotiation table. Up to now, negotiations between China and Britain on the Hong Kong issue were conducted in the highest secrecy. It is perhaps impossible for reporters to penetrate this mysterious fortress. After a series of sorties on news gathering missions, I succeeded in hearing two sentences. The first was: "We will regain not only our sovereign rights but also our administrative rights. On this question of principle, we shall not retreat even a single inch." This was an important instruction given by Chinese policymakers to the personnel taking part in the negotiations. It was uttered with curt finality more definite than that of the "iron lady." It can be imagined that disputes on the three treaties must have made the atmosphere in the negotiations rather tense. It is believed that the Chinese side must have expressed its unwillingness to talk about the issue again.

A friend in Beijing, who has certain contacts with the relevant authorities, told me: "Outside the negotiation table, the British Government has also attempted to exert pressure on Beijing from two sides in order to strengthen Britain's favorable position in the Sino-British talks. This is maneuvering by the British side."

"Can you give me specific details of this 'maneuvering' by the British side?" I asked.

"First, in both London and Hong Kong, the British side continuously spreads the 'theory of the end of Hong Kong,' such as 'as soon as China regains its sovereignty over Hong Kong, the economy of Hong Kong will immediately collapse.' For example, THE TIMES published an article, indicating that the confidence upon which the prosperity of Hong Kong relies depends more and more on Beijing's actions. The reason for the British side spreading such remarks is to aggravate the instability of Hong Kong's finances."

"In Hong Kong, however, there are also quite a few residents who hold the same view," I said.

"This is another question. Some Hong Kong residents indeed hold a similar view. However, it is believed that, unlike the British side, they do not want to create confusion. On the contrary, they hope the situation will be stabilized."

"What is the other maneuver by the British side?"

A Maneuver -- Stirring Up Trouble in the Stock Market

"We hold that the recent financial storm in Hong Kong was purely manmade. Before Chinese and British leaders held talks, an unusual situation had emerged in Hong Kong's financial markets. Shares were down and the Hong Kong dollar was weak. On one day, the Hang Seng index dropped by 100.31 points. The emergence of this

situation has made people suspicious that this was prompted by some "big shots" in order to bring about a certain atmosphere in the talks, that is, to exert pressure on the talks."

"Later, when both Chinese and British leaders laid their cards on the table, the stock market continued to fluctuate to a greater or lesser extent. Can we rule out the psychological factor of the Hong Kong residents?"

"The psychological changes of some residents might exert some influence, but this influence was very little. A major reason for the steady fall of the stock market is perhaps the fact that some super investors were selling shares in big quantities. We have also noted that, in Hong Kong, a foundation has been mentioned publicly by name. Some people have also mentioned a multimillionaire who has hurriedly transferred his funds to the United States."

The "super investors" my friend refers to have another name, that is, the "political and financial power." I believe that his remarks reflect the view of senior circles in Beijing: The fluctuations in the Hong Kong stock and financial markets before and after Mrs Thatcher's visit to Beijing were instigated by these political and financial powers. Their purpose was to suit the needs of some people (including the political and financial powers themselves) to prevent any changes in the status of Hong Kong, to enable the British side to win the initiative in the Sino-British talks and to "maintain" the "status quo" of British rule over Hong Kong. Top ranking officials in Beijing hold that it is unwise for the British side to engage in maneuvers and create confusion, for this does not contribute to the talks. "The British Government must shoulder the responsibility of stabilizing the situation in Hong Kong, recognize the principle that the sovereignty of Hong Kong belongs to China and to find together through negotiations the ways and means to maintain the prosperity and stability of Hong Kong." The last sentence within the quotation marks was the second sentence I heard when I was gathering "news relating to the talks." Naturally it was not a remark by the delegate of the Chinese side but a demand on Britain from Beijing.

"I think both China and Britain should calmly find the best solution for the Hong Kong issue," I said when expressing my views. "Recently, the Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation [HSBC] announced that the time limit for the repayment of housing loans was to be extended to 20 years. Does not this measure contribute to the stability of the situation?"

"Maybe it does and maybe it does not. According to the information I have acquired, the HSBC had not notified the Bank of China before announcing the implementation of this new method. Originally, the banks of Chinese capital had intended long ago to take this measure, that is, to announce the extension of the time limit for repayment of loans over 1997. However, the HSBC stole a march on the Bank of China and then notified it as a formality. This has landed us in a passive and awkward position. The plan of the Bank of China has crumbled. For a time, it did not want to follow the HSBC and consequently reaction in the stock market was poor. By doing so the HSBC intended to indicate that it was more concerned about the prosperity and stability of Hong Kong than other people. However, in view of the overall situation, the Bank of China still supports the plan of the HSBC."

Twenty Plans and the Lease System

Not only do top ranking officials in Beijing detest the British "theory of the validity of the three treaties," they are also dissatisfied with the various propositions made by some people in Hong Kong, such as the independence of Hong Kong, the separation of sovereign and administrative rights and the proposition that China regains its sovereign rights over Hong Kong while Britain retains its administrative rights. A report submitted to Beijing from a certain relevant quarter in Hong Kong has listed more than 20 plans put forward by the people of Hong Kong for solving the

Hong Kong issue. Those people in Beijing who have read the report hold that many plans are "quixotic and weird." They have a common tendency, that is, they advocate British rule over Hong Kong for a considerably long period of time. "This is a mentality characteristic of Li Hongzhang." According to some cadres in Beijing, "these remarks have, objectively speaking, supplied Mrs Thatcher with firepower so that she can 'speak more plausibly and at greater length' about 'representing the public opinion of Hong Kong' and speak in favor of the 'theory of the validity of the three treaties' and the 'maintenance of the status quo.'" Under these circumstances, an instruction has been issued to the leftist newspapers in Hong Kong to the effect that it is necessary to appropriately organize the writing of articles and contributions to justly and forcefully publicize the righteousness of China's recovery of its sovereignty (including its administrative rights) over Hong Kong and refute the absurd arguments. They will also ask the British who have talked glibly about the outstanding achievements of British rule over Hong Kong to make a self-examination and see the miserable and shabby state the economy of their mother country is in. At the same time, they will also analyze, in accordance with facts, the various reasons contributing to the prosperity of Hong Kong and point out the important role played by the Chinese mainland in bolstering and supporting Hong Kong.

"It is believed that many of the British methods, such as its administration of Hong Kong, urban construction and economic development, have something to recommend them. With respect to the role the British have played, some aspects should be negated and some others should be affirmed. Is that so?"

My friend nodded slightly without making any reply.

"With respect to the plans for Hong Kong," I said, again expressing my view, "I think it is necessary to study and not negate them immediately no matter what views or plans the Hong Kong residents have put forward. Did not Hu Yaobang raise the question of the lease system too? It now seems that this question is no longer mentioned, is it not?"

"Yes. It is very difficult to realize it."

The Latest Tentative Plan of the Policymakers

"Does not this show that someone, whoever he may be, may put forward some views or plans that are not entirely geared to actual circumstances?"

"Quite right. Things always develop."

"However, I still admire the lease system. Do the policymakers now have the latest tentative ideas?"

My friend told me the following five points:

1. "Four unchanges:" China's stand to simultaneously regain its sovereign and administrative rights over Hong Kong does not change; "one state, two systems," that is, the policy and principle of maintaining the capitalist system and ways of life over a long period of time, does not change; the principle of eliminating colonialist influence and tinges does not change; and the method of making Hong Kong a special administrative zone does not change.
2. The setting up of Hong Kong municipality, which is a special municipality of the PRC. The five-star flag is to be hoisted (but Hong Kong can have its own municipal flag). A Hong Kong resident may or will replace the British governor. The mayor can be elected indirectly.

3. With the exception of national defense and foreign affairs, all other local affairs, such as law and administration, will be handled by Hong Kong residents. Consequently, it will have a much greater decisionmaking power than such autonomous regions as Xinjiang, Nei Monggol and Xizang.
4. Various laws, regulations remain basically unchanged. But, in their operation, links with Britain will be severed.
5. Hong Kong's status as a free port and financial center will be preserved.

These five points basically coincide with the conception of China's policymakers, on which CHENG MING has reported in the past. In July this year, CHENG MING was the first to report on China's policy decision on Hong Kong, which includes two most important points: regaining China's sovereignty over Hong Kong; and practicing "one state, two systems," with Hong Kong preserving its capitalist system. It is said that some people (perhaps an extremely small number of people) still refused, until very recently, to believe the tentative idea of "one state, two systems." With an attitude of being responsible to the readers, I now repeat: Chinese conception of "one state, two systems" (a remark by Hu Qiaomu) has been explicitly confirmed. However, I reckon that its implementation, whether five or six points, will meet with a lot of problems. In practicing socialism, the communists still find it difficult to move a single step, let alone in practicing capitalism.

A Remark by RENMIN RIBAO Was Wrong

Since it is permissible to preserve the capitalist system in Hong Kong (for at least a considerably long period of time), we should permit the existence of certain things derived from capitalism. If these things violate the capitalist law, it goes without saying that we should punish them according to the capitalist legal system. Since Hong Kong will be a special administrative zone within a socialist state, therefore, if some people undermine the security and interests of the state by their actions, it also goes without saying that we should punish them according to the special codes that should be formulated in the future. However, in its editorial entitled "Correctly Appraise and Handle Class Struggle at the Present Stage" published on 6 November, RENMIN RIBAO discussed in very general terms the class struggle against "some people" of the bourgeoisie after Hong Kong has been regained. This gives the impression that the method of class struggle waged in the socialist state can be applied in Hong Kong, which practices capitalism. Is it appropriate to say so? It is believed that some enlightened and wise leaders had not gone over this editorial. This article, which contained the pernicious influence of leftist ideas, is detrimental to the Chinese people and also to the stability of Hong Kong.

In Beijing, some intellectuals hold that the paragraph dealing with the Hong Kong and Macao issue in the RENMIN RIBAO editorial is not only confusing in logic but also self-contradictory. I agree with their views. This erroneous paragraph was written at a wrong time and with erroneous logic. Viewed from this editorial, the problem China will face after the recovery of Hong Kong will not be so simple as was originally reckoned.

China now demands that the situation in Hong Kong be stabilized and that its prosperous situation be preserved. This is entirely correct. In order to achieve this, however, it is insufficient to rely on the mouth or pen to criticize Britain's faults and to constantly publicize to Hong Kong residents the "16 characters" (regaining sovereignty, preserving the original system, practicing self-rule by Hong Kong people and maintaining prosperity and stability). What is important is to take actions that can evoke the confidence of the people. With respect to the paragraph in RENMIN RIBAO, it would have been better not to have published it.

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